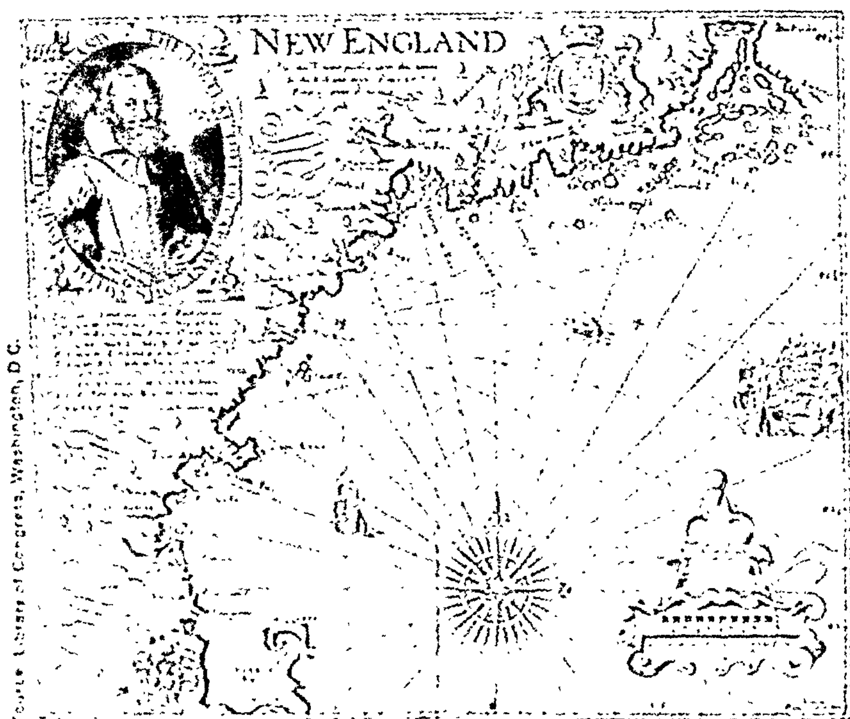
AN OUTLINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Of the many inquiries that are received by the United States Information Service, a large proportion are concerned with American history. This book is an attempt to supply some of the answers in a concise and convenient form and to trace some of the major currents of thought and development in the nation's growth. This is in no sense a definitive history of the United States; each of the periods here treated within the space of a few pages has been the subject of exhaustive research and scholarship. On pages 181-184 are listed the titles of a few of the many authoritative works available for the thorough study of American history. It is hoped that this volume will serve as a useful introduction to the subject and that it will thereby add to the store of shared knowledge and mutual understanding between those who read it and the people of the United States.

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Courtesy Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Captain John Smith has a secure place in American history as the leader whose firmness and courage saved the English colony in Virginia from disaster in 1608. Less known are his exploits as explorer and geographer. The map above, with Smith's portrait in the corner, was engraved in London from notes and observations he made in 1614 on an expedition to the region he named New England. Today the term embraces the six northeastern states of the Union. The Pilgrims had a copy of this map aboard the Mayflower in 1620 when they landed at Plymouth (spelled "Plimouth" in the lower left corner). Smith's "Cape James" is now Cape Cod.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

"Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation."

John Smith
Founder of the Colony of Virginia, 1607

The early 1600s saw the beginning of a great tide of emigration from Europe to North America. Spanning more than three centuries, this movement grew from a trickle of a few hundred English colonists to a floodtide of newcomers numbered in the millions. Impelled by powerful and diverse motivations, they built a new civilization on a once savage continent.

The first English immigrants to what is now the United States crossed the Atlantic long after thriving Spanish colonies had been established in Mexico, the West Indies, and South America. Like all early travelers to the New World, they came in small, overcrowded ships. During their six- to 12-week voyages they lived on meager rations. Many of them died of disease; ships were often battered by storms, and some were lost at sea.

To the weary voyager the sight of the American shore brought immense relief. Said one chronicler: "The air at 12 leagues' distance smelt as sweet as a new-blown garden." The colonists' first glimpse of the new land was a vista of dense woods. True, the woods were inhabited by Indians, many of whom were hostile, and the threat of Indian attack would add to the hardships of daily life. But the vast, virgin forests, extending nearly 2,100 kilometers along the eastern seaboard from north to south, would prove to be a treasure-house, providing abundant food, fuel, and a rich source of raw materials for houses, furniture, ships, and profitable cargoes for export.

The first permanent English settlement in America was a trading post founded in 1607 at Jamestown, in the Old Dominion

various petty princes, particularly with regard to religion, and the devastation caused by a long series of wars helped swell the movement to America in the late 17th and the 18th centuries.

In some instances, men and women with little active interest in a new life in America were induced to make the move by the skillful persuasion of promoters. William Penn publicized the opportunities awaiting newcomers to the Pennsylvania colony. Ships' captains, who received large rewards from the sale of service contracts of poor migrants, used every method from extravagant promises to actual kidnapping to embark as many passengers as their vessels could hold. Judges and prison authorities were encouraged to offer convicts a chance to migrate to America instead of serving prison sentences.

FEW WERE ABLE TO PAY THEIR WAY

Relatively few colonists could finance the cost of passage for themselves and their families and of making a start in the new land. For those who could not, the expenses of transportation and maintenance were paid by colonizing agencies like the Virginia Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company. In return, the settlers agreed to work for the agencies as contract laborers. Many who came to the New World under this arrangement soon discovered that, since they were expected to remain servants or tenants, they were no better off than if they had stayed at home.

In time, the system proved a handicap to successful colonization, and a new way was found to attract settlers to America. Companies, proprietors, and individual families entered into negotiable contracts with prospective settlers who, in exchange for passage and maintenance, bound themselves to labor for the contract-holder for a limited time—usually from four to seven years. Free at the end of this term, such settlers would be given "freedom dues," sometimes including a small tract of land.

It has been estimated that half the settlers living in the colonies south of New England came to America under this system, as "indentured servants." Although most of them fulfilled their obligations faithfully, some ran away from their employers. Nevertheless, many of these too were able to secure land and set up homesteads, either in the colonies in which they had originally settled or in neighboring ones.

No social stigma was attached to a family that had its begin-

ning in America under this semi-bondage. Every colony had its share of leaders who were former indentured servants.

Most of the settlers who came to America in the 17th century were English, but there was a sprinkling of Dutch, Swedes, and Germans in the middle region, a few French Huguenots in South Carolina and elsewhere, and a scattering of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese. Still, non-English settlers represented barely 10 per cent of the total.

MANY CULTURES BLEND

After 1680, large numbers of immigrants came from Germany, Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland, and France; and England ceased to be the chief source of immigration. Again, the new settlers came for various reasons. Thousands fled from Germany to escape the path of war. Many left Ireland to avoid the poverty induced by government oppression and absentee-landlordism, and from Scotland and Switzerland, too, people came fleeing the specter of poverty. By 1690, the American population had risen to a quarter of a million. From then on, it doubled every 25 years until, in 1775, it numbered more than two and a half million.

For the most part, non-English colonists adapted themselves to the culture of the original settlers. But this did not mean that all settlers transformed themselves into Englishmen. True, they adopted the English language and law and many English customs, but only as these had been modified by conditions in America. The result was a unique culture—a blend of English and continental European conditioned by the environment of the New World.

Although a man and his family could move from Massachusetts to Virginia, or from South Carolina to Pennsylvania, without making many basic readjustments, distinctions between individual colonies were marked. They were even more marked between regional groups of colonies.

The settlements fell into fairly well-defined sections determined by geography. In the south, with its warm climate and fertile soil, a predominately agrarian society developed. New England in the northeast, a glaciated area strewn with boulders, was inferior farm country, with generally thin, stony soil, relatively little level land, short summers, and long winters. Turning to other pursuits, the New Englanders harnessed water power and estab-

lished gristmills and sawmills. Good stands of timber encouraged shipbuilding. Excellent harbors promoted trade, and the sea became a source of great wealth. In Massachusetts, the cod industry alone quickly furnished a basis for prosperity.

Settling in villages and towns around the harbors, New Englanders quickly adopted an urban existence, many of them carrying on some trade or business. Common pastureland and common wood-lots served the needs of townspeople, who worked small farms nearby. Compactness made possible the village school, the village church, and the village or town hall, where citizens met to discuss matters of common interest. Sharing hardships, cultivating the same rocky soil, pursuing simple trades and crafts, New Englanders rapidly acquired characteristics that marked them as a self-reliant, independent people.

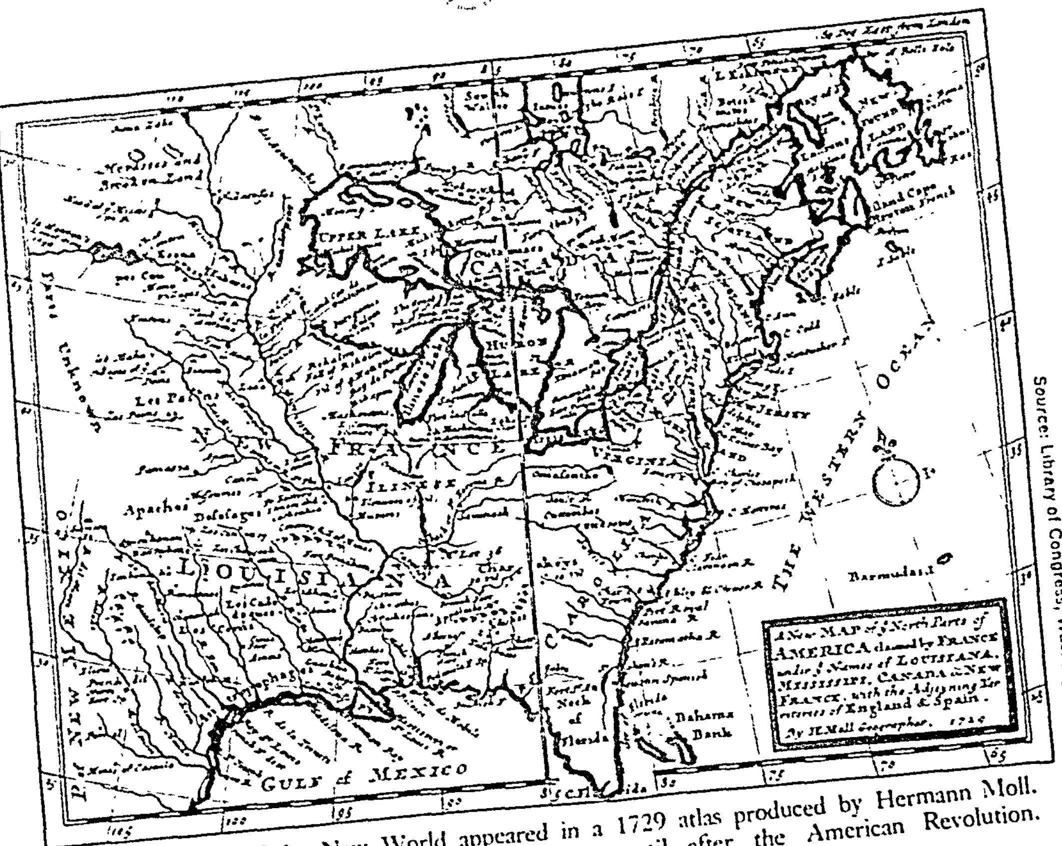
These qualities had manifested themselves in the 102 sea-weary Pilgrims who first landed on the peninsula of Cape Cod, projecting into the Atlantic from southeastern Massachusetts. They had sailed to America under the auspices of the London (Virginia) Company and were thus intended for settlement in Virginia, but their ship, the *Mayflower,* made its landfall far to the north. After some weeks of exploring, the colonists decided not to make the trip to Virginia but to remain where they were. They chose the area near Plymouth harbor as a site for their colony, and though the rigors of the first winter were severe, the settlement survived.

STRICT RELIGION RULES NEW ENGLAND

Even while Plymouth struggled for existence, other settlements were founded nearby. The one that occupied the Massachusetts Bay region (Boston) after 1630 played a significant part in the development of all New England. Established by 25 men who had obtained a royal charter and led by Governor John Winthrop, the Massachusetts Bay settlers were determined to succeed and promptly turned to the stern business of making a living.

Within the first 10 years 65 preachers arrived, and the development of a theocracy in Massachusetts took place as a consequence of its leaders' deep convictions. In theory, church and state were separate, but actually they were one, all institutions being subordinated to religion. Soon a system of government that was theocratic and authoritarian evolved. At town meetings, how-

Source: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



This early map of the New World appeared in a 1729 atlas produced by Hermann Moll. Many colonial boundaries remained in dispute until after the American Revolution.

ever, there was opportunity for discussion of public problems, and settlers received a certain amount of experience in self-government. Although the towns developed around the church organization, the whole population, by the very exigencies of frontier life, shared in civil obligations. Still, for years, the clergy and conservative laymen attempted to maintain conformity.

They did not succeed in binding the minds of all their citizens. Roger Williams, a rebellious clergyman, questioned both the right of taking the Indians' land and the wisdom of keeping church and state united. For spreading his "new and dangerous opinion against the authority of the magistrates," he was banished from the colony by the general court. He found refuge among friendly Indians in neighboring Rhode Island and soon established a colony there based on the concepts that men might worship as they wished and that church and state would be forever separate.

But heretics were not the only ones who left Massachusetts. Orthodox Puritans too, seeking better lands and opportunities, made their way from the colony. News of the fertility of the Connecticut River Valley, for instance, attracted the interest of farmers having a difficult time with poor land; many were ready to brave the danger of Indian attack to obtain level ground and deep, rich soil. Significantly, such groups, in setting up a government, extended the franchise by eliminating church membership as a prerequisite for voting. Other Massachusetts settlers filtered into the region to the north, and soon New Hampshire and Maine were colonized by men and women seeking liberty and land.

While the Massachusetts Bay Colony was indirectly extending its influence, it was growing apace at home and expanding its commerce. From the middle of the century onward, it grew prosperous, and Boston became one of America's greatest ports. Oak timber for ships' hulls, tall pines for spars and masts, and pitch for the seams of ships came from the northeastern forests. Building their own vessels and sailing them to ports all over the world, the shipmasters of Massachusetts Bay laid the foundation for a trade that was to grow steadily in importance. By the end of the colonial period, one-third of all vessels under the British flag were American-built. Surplus food products, ship's stores, and wooden ware swelled the exports. New England shippers soon discovered, too, that rum and slaves were profitable commodities.

Society in the middle colonies, the second great division, was far more varied, cosmopolitan, and tolerant than in New Eng-

land. Pennsylvania and its appendage, Delaware, owed their initial success to William Penn, a Quaker whose aim was to attract settlers of numerous faiths and nationalities. Determined that the colony should set an example of fair and honest dealing with the Indians, Penn negotiated an agreement which, scrupulously observed, maintained peace in the wilderness.

The colony functioned smoothly and grew rapidly. Within a year after Penn's arrival 3,000 new citizens came to Pennsylvania. The heart of the colony was Philadelphia, a city soon to be known for its broad, tree-shaded streets, substantial brick and stone houses, and busy docks. By the end of the colonial period, 30,000 people, representing many languages, creeds, and trades, lived there. The Quakers, with their talent for successful business enterprise, had made the city one of the thriving centers of colonial America.

Though the Quakers dominated in Philadelphia, elsewhere in Pennsylvania other strains were well represented. Germans became the colony's most skillful farmers. Important, too, was their knowledge of cottage industries—weaving, shoemaking, cabinetmaking, and other crafts. Pennsylvania was also the principal gateway into the New World for immigrating Scotch-Irish. These were vigorous frontiersmen, taking land where they wanted it and defending their rights with rifles. Believing in representative government, religion, and education, they were the spearhead of a new civilization as they pushed ever farther into the hinterland.

Mixed as were the people in Pennsylvania, it was in New York that the polyglot nature of America was best illustrated. By 1646, the population along the Hudson River included Dutch, Flemings, Walloons, French, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, English, Scots, Irish, Germans, Poles, Bohemians, Portuguese, and Italians—the forerunners of millions to come.

DUTCH INFLUENCES REMAIN

The Dutch possessed New Netherland, later to be called New York, for 40 years. But they were not a migrating people. Colonizing offered them neither political nor religious advantages that they did not already enjoy in Holland. In addition, the Dutch West India Company found it difficult to retain competent officials to administer the colony. In 1664, with a revival of British interest in colonial activity, the Dutch settlement was taken by conquest.

Long after this, however, the Dutch continued to exercise an important social and economic influence. Their sharp-stepped, gable roofs became a permanent part of the scene, and their merchants gave the city its bustling commercial atmosphere.

The Dutch also gave New York a style of life quite different from that in Puritan Boston. In New York, holidays were marked by feasting and merrymaking. And many Dutch traditions—such as calling on one's neighbors on New Year's Day and celebrating the visit of Saint Nicholas at Christmastime—survived for many years.

With the transfer from Dutch authority, an English administrator, Richard Nicolls, set about remodeling the legal structure of New York. He did this so gradually and with such wisdom that he won the respect of Dutch as well as English. Town governments had the autonomous characteristics of New England towns, and in a few years there was a workable fusion between residual Dutch law and customs and English practices.

By 1696 nearly 30,000 people lived in the province of New York. In the rich valleys of the Hudson, Mohawk, and other rivers, great estates flourished. Tenant farmers and small independent farmers contributed to the agricultural development of the region. Rolling grasslands supplied feed for cattle, sheep, horses, and pigs; tobacco and flax were planted; and fruits, especially apples, grew in abundance. The fur trade also contributed to the growth of the colony. From Albany, 232 kilometers north of New York City, the Hudson River was a convenient waterway for shipping furs to the busy port.

AGRICULTURE RULES THE SOUTH

In contrast to New England and the middle colonies were the predominantly rural southern settlements, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Jamestown, in Virginia, was the first English colony to survive in the New World. Late in December 1606, a group of about a hundred men, sponsored by a London colonizing company, had set out in search of great adventure. They dreamed of finding gold; homes in the wilderness were not their goal. Among them, Captain John Smith emerged as the dominant figure, and despite quarrels, starvation, and Indian attacks, his will held the little colony together through the first years.

In the earliest days, the promoting company, eager for quick returns, required the colonists to concentrate on producing lumber and other products for sale in the London market, instead of permitting them to plant crops for their own subsistence. After a few disastrous years the company eased its requirements and distributed land to the colonists.

In 1612, a development occurred that revolutionized the economy of Virginia. This was the discovery of a method of curing Virginia tobacco to make it palatable to the European taste. The first shipment of this tobacco reached London in 1614, and within a decade it had become Virginia's chief source of revenue.

The cultivation of tobacco exhausted the soil after several crops. Breaking new ground, planters scattered up and down the numerous waterways. No towns dotted the region, and even Jamestown, the capital, had only a few houses.

Though most settlers had come to Virginia to improve their economic position, in Maryland, the neighboring colony, religious as well as economic motives led to settlement. While seeking to establish a refuge for Catholics there, the Calvert family was also interested in creating estates that would bring profits. To that end, and to avoid trouble with the British government, the Calverts encouraged Protestant as well as Catholic immigration.

In social structure and in government the Calverts tried to make Maryland an aristocratic land in the ancient tradition, which they aspired to rule with all the prerogatives of kings. But the spirit of independence ran strong in this frontier society. In Maryland, as in the other colonies, the authorities could not circumvent the settlers' stubborn insistence on the guarantees of personal liberty established by English common law and the natural rights of subjects to participate in government through representative assemblies.

Maryland developed an economy very similar to that of Virginia. Devoted to agriculture with a dominant tidewater class of great planters, both colonies had a back country into which yeomen farmers steadily filtered. Both suffered the handicaps of a one-crop system. And before the midpoint of the 18th century, both were profoundly affected by Negro slavery.

In these two colonies the wealthy planters took their social responsibilities seriously, serving as justices of the peace, colonels of the militia, and members of the legislative assemblies. But

yeomen farmers also sat in popular assemblies and found their way into political office. Their outspoken independence was a constant warning to the oligarchy of planters not to encroach too far upon the rights of free men.

By the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the social structure in Maryland and Virginia had taken on the qualities it would retain until the Civil War. Supported by slave labor, the planters held most of the political power and the best land, built great houses, adopted an aristocratic way of life, and kept in touch with the world of culture overseas. Next in the socioeconomic scale were the farmers, placing their hope for prosperity in the fresh soil of the back country. Least prosperous were the small farmers, struggling for existence in competition with slave-owning planters. In neither Virginia nor Maryland did a large trading class develop, for the planters themselves traded directly with London.

It was reserved for the Carolinas, with Charleston as the leading port, to develop into the trading center of the south. There the settlers quickly learned to combine agriculture and commerce, and the marketplace became a major source of prosperity. Dense forests also brought revenue; lumber, tar, and resin from the longleaf pine provided some of the best shipbuilding materials in the world. Not bound to a single crop as was Virginia, the Carolinas also produced and exported rice and indigo. By 1750, more than 100,000 people lived in the two colonies of North and South Carolina.

In the south, as everywhere else in the colonies, the growth of the back country had special significance. Men seeking greater freedom than could be found in the original tidewater settlements pushed inland. Those who could not secure fertile land along the coast, or who had exhausted the lands they held, found the hills farther west a bountiful refuge. Soon the interior was dotted with thriving farms. Humble farmers were not the only ones who found the hinterland attractive. Peter Jefferson, for example, an enterprising surveyor—father of Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States—settled in the hill country by acquiring 160 hectares of land for a bowl of punch.

Living on the edge of the Indian country, making their cabins their fortresses, and relying on their own sharp eyes and trusty muskets, frontiersmen became, of necessity, a sturdy, self-reliant people. They cleared tracts in the wilderness, burned the brush, and cultivated maize and wheat among the stumps. The

men wore buckskin, the women garments of cloth they had spun at home. Their food was venison, wild turkey, and fish. They had their own amusements—great barbecues, housewarmings for newly married couples, shooting matches, and contests where quilted blankets were made.

SCHOOLING AND CULTURE FLOURISH

Already lines of cleavage were discernible between the settled regions of the Atlantic seaboard and the inland regions. Men from the back country made their voices heard in political debate, combatting the inertia of custom and convention. A powerful force deterring authorities in the older communities from obstructing progress and change was the fact that anyone in an established colony could easily find a new home on the frontier. Thus, time after time, dominant tidewater figures were obliged, by the threat of a mass exodus to the frontier, to liberalize political policies, land-grant requirements, and religious practices. Complacency could have small place in the vigorous society generated by an expanding country. The movement into the foothills was of tremendous import for the future of America.

Of equal significance for the future were the foundations of American education and culture established in the colonial period. Harvard College was founded in 1636 in Massachusetts. Near the end of the century, the College of William and Mary was established in Virginia. A few years later, the Collegiate School of Connecticut (later to become Yale College) was chartered. But even more noteworthy was the growth of a school system maintained by governmental authority. In 1647 the Massachusetts Bay Colony, followed shortly by all the other New England colonies except Rhode Island, provided for compulsory elementary education.

In the south, the farms and plantations were so widely separated that community schools like those in the more compact northern settlements were impossible. Some planters joined with their nearest neighbors and hired tutors for their children; other children were sent to England for schooling.

In the middle colonies, the situation varied. Too busy with material progress to pay much attention to educational matters, New York lagged far behind. Schools were poor, and only sporadic efforts were made by the royal government to provide public

facilities. The College of New Jersey at Princeton, King's College (now Columbia University) in New York City, and Queen's College (now Rutgers) in New Brunswick, New Jersey, were not established until the middle of the 18th century.

One of the most enterprising of the colonies educationally was Pennsylvania. The first school there, begun in 1683, taught reading, writing, and keeping of accounts. Thereafter, in some fashion, every Quaker community provided for the elementary teaching of its children. More advanced training—in classical languages, history, literature—was offered at the Friends Public School, which still operates in Philadelphia as the William Penn Charter School. The school was free to the poor, but parents who could were required to pay tuition.

In Philadelphia, numerous private schools with no religious affiliation taught languages, mathematics, and natural science, and there were night schools for adults. Women were not entirely overlooked, for private teachers instructed the daughters of prosperous Philadelphians in French, music, dancing, painting, singing, grammar, and sometimes even bookkeeping.

The intellectual and cultural development of Pennsylvania reflected, in large measure, the vigorous personalities of two men: James Logan and Benjamin Franklin. Logan was secretary of the colony, and it was in his fine library that young Franklin found the latest scientific works. In 1745, Logan erected a building for his collection and bequeathed both building and books to the city. Franklin contributed even more to the intellectual activity of Philadelphia. He formed a club known as the Junto, which was the embryo of the American Philosophical Society. His endeavors led, too, to the founding of a public academy that later developed into the University of Pennsylvania. He was also a prime mover in the establishment of a subscription library—which he called "the mother of all North American subscription libraries."

In the south, volumes of history, Greek and Latin classics, science, and law were widely exchanged from plantation to plantation. Charleston, South Carolina, already a center for music, painting, and the theater, set up a provincial library before 1700. In New England, the first immigrants had brought their own little libraries and continued to import books from London. And as early as the 1680s, Boston booksellers were doing a thriving business in works of classical literature, history, politics, philosophy, science, theology, and *belles-lettres.*

The desire for learning did not stop at the borders of established communities. On the frontier, the hardy Scotch-Irish, though living in primitive cabins, were firm devotees of scholarship, and they made great efforts to attract learned ministers to their settlements.

Literary production in the colonies was largely confined to New England. Here attention was concentrated on religious subjects. Sermons were the most common products of the press. A famous "hell and brimstone" minister, the Reverend Cotton Mather, authored some 400 works, and his masterpiece, *Magnalia Christi Americana,* was so prodigious that it had to be printed in London. In this folio, the pageant of New England's history is displayed by the region's most prolific writer. But the most popular single work was the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth's long poem, *The Day of Doom,* which described the Last Judgment in terrifying terms.

THE PRESS ASSERTS ITS FREEDOM

Cambridge, Massachusetts, boasted a printing press, and in 1704, Boston's first successful newspaper was launched. Several others soon entered the field, not only in New England but also in other regions. In New York, freedom of the press had its first important test in the case of Peter Zenger, whose *New York Weekly Journal,* begun in 1733, was spokesman for opposition to the government. After two years of publication, the colonial governor could no longer tolerate Zenger's satirical barbs and had him thrown into prison on a charge of libel. Zenger continued to edit his paper from jail during his nine-month trial, which excited intense interest throughout the colonies. Andrew Hamilton, a prominent lawyer defending him, argued that the charges printed by Zenger were true and hence not libelous. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty, and Zenger went free. This landmark decision helped establish in America the principle of freedom of the press.

In all phases of colonial development, a striking feature was the lack of controlling influence by the English government. During their formative period, the colonies were, to a large degree, free to develop as circumstances dictated. The English government had taken no direct part in founding any of the colonies except Georgia, and only gradually did it assume any part in their political direction.

The fact that the King had transferred his immediate sovereignty over the New World settlements to stock companies and proprietors did not, of course, mean that the colonists in America would necessarily be free of outside control. Under the terms of the Virginia Company and Massachusetts Bay charters, complete governmental authority was vested in the companies involved, and it was expected that these companies would be resident in England. Inhabitants of America, then, would have no more voice in their government than if the King himself had retained absolute rule.

FOREIGN RULE BREAKS DOWN

In one way or another, however, exclusive rule from the outside was broken down. The first step was a decision by the London (Virginia) Company to grant Virginia colonists representation in the government. In 1618 the Company issued instructions to its appointed governor providing that free inhabitants of the plantations should elect representatives to join with the governor and an appointive council in passing ordinances for the welfare of the colony.

This proved to be one of the most far-reaching events in the entire colonial period. From then on, it was generally accepted that the colonists had a right to participate in their own government. In most instances, the King, in making future grants, provided in the charter that freemen of the colony involved should have a voice in legislation affecting them. Thus, charters awarded to Cecil Calvert of Maryland, William Penn of Pennsylvania, the proprietors of the Carolinas, and the proprietors of New Jersey specified that legislation should be with "the consent of the freemen."

In only two cases was the self-government provision omitted. These were New York, which was granted to Charles II's brother, the Duke of York, later to become King James II; and Georgia, which was granted to a group of "trustees." In both instances the provisions for governance were short-lived, for the colonists demanded legislative representation so insistently that the authorities soon yielded.

At first, the right of colonists to representation in the legislative branch of the government was of limited importance. Ultimately, however, it served as a stepping stone to almost com-

plete domination by the settlers through elective assemblies, which first seized and then utilized control over financial matters. In one colony after another, the principle was established that taxes could not be levied, or collected revenue spent—even to pay the salary of the governor or other appointive officers—without the consent of the elected representatives. Unless the governor and other colonial officials agreed to act in accordance with the will of the popular assembly, the assembly refused to appropriate money for vital functions. Thus there were instances of recalcitrant governors who were voted either no salary at all or a salary of one penny. In the face of this threat, governors and other appointive officials tended to become pliable to the will of the colonists.

BRITISH RELUCTANTLY YIELD

In New England, for many years, there was even more complete self-government than in the other colonies. If the Pilgrims had settled in Virginia, they would have been under the authority of the London (Virginia) Company. However, in their own colony of Plymouth, they were beyond any governmental jurisdiction. They decided to set up their own political organization. Aboard the *Mayflower*, they adopted an instrument for government called the "Mayflower Compact," to "combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation...and by virtue hereof (to) enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices...as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony...." Although there was no legal basis for the Pilgrims to establish a system of self-government, the action was not contested and, under the compact, the Plymouth settlers were able for many years to conduct their own affairs without outside interference.

A similar situation developed when the Massachusetts Bay Company, which had been given the right to govern, moved bodily to America with its charter, and thus full authority rested in the hands of persons residing in the colony. The dozen or sc original members of the company who had come to America at first attempted to rule autocratically. But the other colonists soor demanded a voice in public affairs and indicated that refusa would lead to a mass migration.

Faced with this threat, the company members yielded, an

control of the government passed to elected representatives. Subsequent New England colonies—New Haven, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—also succeeded in becoming self-governing simply by asserting that they were beyond any governmental authority and then setting up their own political system modeled after that of the Pilgrims of Plymouth.

The assumption of self-government in the colonies did not go entirely unchallenged. British authorities took court action against the Massachusetts charter and in 1684 it was annulled. Then all the New England colonies were brought under royal control with complete authority vested in an appointive governor. The colonists strenuously objected and, after the Revolution of 1688 in England, which resulted in the overthrow of James II, they drove out the royal governor.

Rhode Island and Connecticut, which now included the colony of New Haven, were able to reestablish their virtually independent position on a permanent basis. Massachusetts, however, was soon brought again under royal authority, but this time the people were given a share in the government. As in the case of other colonies, this "share" was gradually extended until it became virtual dominance, effective use being made here as elsewhere of control over finances. Still, governors were continually instructed to force adherence to policies that conformed to overall English interests, and the English Privy Council continued to exercise a right of review of colonial legislation. But the colonists proved adept at circumventing these restraints.

Beginning in 1651, the English government, from time to time, passed laws regulating certain aspects of colonial economic life, some beneficial to America, but most favoring England. Generally, the colonists ignored those that they deemed most detrimental. Although the British occasionally tried to secure better enforcement, their efforts were invariably short-lived, and the authorities returned to a policy of "salutary neglect."

The large measure of political independence enjoyed by the colonies naturally resulted in their growing away from Britain, becoming increasingly "American" rather than "English." This tendency was strongly reinforced by the blending of other national groups and cultures that was simultaneously taking place.

How this process operated and the manner in which it laid the foundations of a new nation were vividly described in 1782 by French-born agriculturist J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur ... hat

then is the American, this new man?" he asked in his *Letters from an American Farmer.* "He is either a European, or the descendant of a European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you find in no other country. . . . I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. *He* is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. . . ."

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

John Adams, second President of the United States, declared that the history of the American Revolution began as far back as 1620. "The Revolution," he said, "was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people." The principles and passions that led the Americans to rebel ought, he added, "to be traced back for two hundred years and sought in the history of the country from the first plantation in America."

As a practical matter, however, the overt parting of the ways between England and America began in 1763, more than a century and a half after the first permanent settlement had been founded at Jamestown, Virginia. The colonies had grown vastly in economic strength and cultural attainment, and virtually all had long years of self-government behind them. Their combined population now exceeded 1,500,000—a sixfold increase since 1700.

The implications of the physical growth of the colonies were far greater than mere numerical increase would indicate. The 18th century brought a steady expansion from the influx of immigrants from Europe, and since the best land near the seacoast had already been occupied, new settlers had to push inland beyond the fall line of the rivers. Traders explored the back country, brought back tales of rich valleys, and induced farmers to take their families into the wilderness. Although their hardships were enormous, restless settlers kept coming, and by the 1730s frontiersmen had

already begun to pour into the Shenandoah Valley.

Down to 1763, Great Britain had formulated no consistent policy for her colonial possessions. The guiding principle was the confirmed mercantilist view that colonies should supply the mother country with raw materials and not compete in manufacturing. But policy was poorly enforced, and the colonies had never thought of themselves as subservient. Rather, they considered themselves chiefly as commonwealths or states, much like England herself, having only a loose association with authorities in London.

At infrequent intervals, sentiment in England was aroused and efforts were made by Parliament or the Crown to subordinate the economic activities and governments of the colonies to England's will and interest—efforts to which the majority of the colonists were opposed. The remoteness afforded by a vast ocean allayed fears of reprisal the colonies might otherwise have had.

Added to this remoteness was the character of life itself in early America. From countries limited in space and dotted with populous towns, the settlers had come to a land of seemingly unending reach. On such a continent natural conditions stressed the importance of the individual.

FRONTIER FOSTERS SELF-RELIANCE

The colonists—inheritors of the traditions of the Englishman's long struggle for political liberty—incorporated concepts of freedom into Virginia's first charter. This provided that English colonists were to exercise all liberties, franchises, and immunities "as if they had been abiding and born within this our Realm of England." They were, then, to enjoy the benefits of the Magna Charta and the common law.

In the early days, the colonies were able to hold fast to their heritage of rights because of the King's arbitrary assumption that they were not subject to parliamentary control. In addition, for years afterward, the kings of England were too preoccupied with a great struggle in England itself—a struggle which culminated in the Puritan Revolution—to enforce their will. Before Parliament could bring its attention to the task of molding the American colonies to an imperial policy, they had grown strong and prosperous in their own right.

From the first year after they had set foot upon the new continent, the colonists had functioned according to the English

law and constitution—with legislative assemblies, a representative system of government, and a recognition of the common-law guarantees of personal liberty. But increasingly legislation became American in point of view, and less and less attention was paid to English practices and precedents. Nevertheless, colonial freedom from effective English control was not achieved without conflict, and colonial history abounds in struggles between the assemblies elected by the people and the governors appointed by the King.

Still, the colonists were often able to render the royal governors powerless, for, as a rule, governors had "no subsistence but from the Assembly." Governors were sometimes instructed to give profitable offices and land grants to influential colonists to secure their support for royal projects but, as often as not, the colonial officials, once they had secured these emoluments, espoused the popular cause as strongly as ever.

The recurring clashes between governor and assembly worked increasingly to awaken the colonists to the divergence between American and English interests. Gradually, the assemblies took over the functions of the governors and their councils, which were made up of colonists selected for their docile support of royal power, and the center of colonial administration shifted from London to the provincial capitals. Early in the 1770s, following the final expulsion of the French from the North American continent, an attempt was made to bring about a drastic change in the relationship between the colonies and the mother country.

BRITISH AND FRENCH CLASH

While the British had been filling the Atlantic coastal area with farms, plantations, and towns, the French had been planting a different kind of dominion in the St. Lawrence Valley in eastern Canada. Having sent over fewer settlers but more explorers, missionaries, and fur traders, France had taken possession of the Mississippi River and, by a line of forts and trading posts, marked out a great crescent-shaped empire stretching from Quebec in the northeast to New Orleans in the south. Thus they tended to pin the British to the narrow belt east of the Appalachian Mountains.

The British had long resisted what they considered "the encroachment of the French." As early as 1613, local clashes occurred between French and English colonists. Eventually, there

was organized warfare, the American counterpart of the larger conflict between England and France. Thus, between 1689 and 1697, "King William's War" was fought as the American phase of the European "War of the Palatinate." From 1702 to 1713, "Queen Anne's War" corresponded to the "War of the Spanish Succession." And from 1744 to 1748, "King George's War" paralleled the "War of the Austrian Succession." Though England secured certain advantages from these wars, the struggles were generally indecisive, and France remained in a strong position on the American continent.

In the 1750s, the conflict was brought to a final phase. The French, after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, tightened their hold on the Mississippi Valley. At the same time, the movement of English colonists across the Alleghenies increased in tempo, stimulating a race for physical possession of the same territory. An armed clash in 1754, involving Virginia militiamen under the command of 22-year-old George Washington and a band of French regulars, ushered in the "French and Indian War" —with the English and their Indian allies fighting the French and their Indian allies. This was destined to determine once and for all French or English supremacy in North America.

Never had there been greater need for action and unity in the British colonies. The French threatened not only the British Empire but the American colonists themselves, for in holding the Mississippi Valley, France could check their westward expansion. The French government of Canada and Louisiana had not only increased in strength but had also in prestige with the Indians, even the Iroquois, the traditional allies of the British. With a new war, every British settler wise in Indian matters knew that drastic measures would be needed to ward off disaster.

FIRST STIRRING OF UNITY

At this juncture, the British Board of Trade, hearing reports of deteriorating relations with the Indians, ordered the governor of New York and commissioners from the other colonies to call a meeting of the Iroquois chiefs to frame a joint treaty. In June 1754, representatives of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the New England colonies met with the Iroquois at Albany. The Indians aired their grievances, and the delegates recommended appropriate action.

The Albany Congress, however, transcended its original purpose of solving Indian problems. It declared a union of the American colonies "absolutely necessary for their preservation," and the colonial representatives present adopted the Albany Plan of Union. Drafted by Benjamin Franklin, the plan provided that a president appointed by the King act with a grand council of delegates chosen by the assemblies, each colony to be represented in proportion to its financial contributions to the general treasury. The government was to have charge of all British interests in the west—Indian treaties, trade, defense, and settlement. But none of the colonies accepted Franklin's plan, for none wished to surrender either the power of taxation or control over the development of the west.

The colonies offered little support for the war as a whole, all schemes failing to bring them "to a sense of their duty to the King." The colonists could see the war only as a struggle for empire on the part of England and France. They felt no compunction when the British government was obliged to send large numbers of regular troops to wage colonial battles. Nor did they regret that the "redcoats," rather than provincial troops, won the war. Nor did they see any reason for curtailing commerce that, in effect, constituted "trade with the enemy."

In spite of this lack of wholehearted colonial support and in spite of several early military defeats, England's superior strategic position and her competent leadership ultimately brought complete victory. After eight years of conflict, Canada and the upper Mississippi Valley were finally conquered, and the dream of a French empire in North America faded.

Having triumphed over France, not only in America but in India and throughout the colonial world generally, Britain was compelled to face a problem that she had hitherto neglected—the governance of her empire. It was essential that she now organize her vast possessions to facilitate defense, reconcile the divergent interests of different areas and peoples, and distribute more evenly the cost of imperial administration.

In North America alone, British overseas territories had more than doubled. To the narrow strip along the Atlantic coast had been added the vast expanse of Canada and the territory between the Mississippi River and the Alleghenies, an empire in itself. A population that had been predominantly Protestant English and Anglicized continentals now included Catholic French an

numbers of partly Christianized Indians. Defense and administration of the new territories, as well as the old, would require huge sums of money and increased personnel. The "old colonial system" was obviously inadequate. Even during the exigencies of a war imperiling the very existence of the colonists themselves, the system had proved incapable of securing colonial cooperation or support. What then could be expected in time of peace when no external danger loomed?

COLONISTS RESIST

Clear as was the British need for a new imperial design, the situation in America was anything but favorable to a change. Long accustomed to a large measure of independence, the colonies were demanding more, not less, freedom, particularly now that the French menace had been eliminated. To put a new system into effect, to tighten control, the statesmen of England had to contend with colonists trained to self-government and impatient of interference.

One of the first things attempted by the British was to organize the interior. The conquest of Canada and of the Ohio Valley necessitated policies that would not alienate the French and Indian inhabitants. But here the Crown came into conflict with the interests of the colonies, which, fast increasing in population, were bent upon exploiting the newly won territories themselves. Needing new land, various colonies claimed the right to extend their boundaries as far west as the Mississippi River.

The British government, fearing that farmers migrating into the new lands would provoke a series of Indian wars, believed that the restive Indians should be given time to settle down and that lands should be opened to colonists on a more gradual basis. In 1763, a royal proclamation reserved all the western territory between the Alleghenies, the Floridas, the Mississippi, and Quebec for the use of the Indians. Thus the Crown attempted to sweep away every western land claim of the thirteen colonies and to stop westward expansion. Though never effectively enforced, this measure, in the eyes of the colonists, constituted a high-handed disregard of their most elementary right to occupy and utilize western lands as needed.

More serious in its repercussions was the new financial policy of the British government, which needed more money to

[illegible]l Revere memorializes an early spark to the conflagration [illegible]
[illegible]ponded to snowballs with gunfire, the [illegible] Boston Massacre [illegible]
[illegible]ects the General's pride and his humiliation in [illegible]



support the growing empire. Unless the taxpayer in England was to supply it all, the colonies would have to contribute. But revenue could be extracted from the colonies only through a stronger central administration, at the expense of colonial self-government.

The first step in inaugurating the new system was the passage of the Sugar Act of 1764. This was designed to raise revenue without regulating trade. In fact, it replaced the Molasses Act of 1733, which had placed a prohibitive duty on the import of rum and molasses from non-English areas. The amended Sugar Act forbade the importation of foreign rum; put a modest duty on molasses from all sources; and levied duties on wines, silks, coffee, and a number of other luxury items. To enforce it, customs officials were ordered to show more energy and strictness. British warships in American waters were instructed to seize smugglers, and "writs of assistance" (blanket warrants) authorized the King's officers to search suspected premises.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION AT ISSUE

It was not so much the new duties that caused consternation among New England merchants. It was rather the fact that steps were being taken to enforce them effectively, an entirely new development. For over a generation, New Englanders had been accustomed to importing the larger part of the molasses for their rum distilleries from the French and Dutch West Indies without paying a duty. They now contended that payment of even the small duty imposed would be ruinous.

As it happened, the preamble to the Sugar Act gave the colonists an opportunity to rationalize their discontent on constitutional grounds. The power of Parliament to tax colonial commodities for the regulation of trade had long been accepted in theory though not always in practice, but the power to tax "for improving the revenue of this Kingdom," as stated in the Revenue Act of 1764, was new and hence debatable.

The constitutional issue became an entering wedge in the great dispute that was finally to wrest the American colonies from England. "One single act of Parliament," wrote James Otis, fiery orator from Massachusetts, "has set more people a-thinking in six months, more than they had done in their whole lives before." Merchants, legislatures, and town meetings protested against the

expediency of the law, and colonial lawyers like Samuel Adams found in the preamble the first intimation of "taxation without representation," the catchword that was to draw many to the cause of the American patriots against the mother country.

Later in the same year, Parliament enacted a Currency Act "to prevent paper bills of credit hereafter issued in any of His Majesty's colonies from being made legal tender." Since the colonies were a deficit trade area and were constantly short of "hard money," this added a serious burden to the colonial economy. Equally objectionable from the colonial viewpoint was the Billeting Act, passed in 1765, which required colonies to provide quarters and supplies for royal troops.

Strong as was the opposition to these acts, it was the last of the measures inaugurating the new colonial system that sparked organized resistance. Known to history as the "Stamp Act," it provided that revenue stamps be affixed to all newspapers, broadsides, pamphlets, licenses, leases, or other legal documents, the revenue (collected by American agents) to be used for "defending, protecting, and securing" the colonies. The burden seemed so evenly and lightly distributed that the measure passed Parliament with little debate.

The violence of the reaction in the thirteen colonies, however, astonished moderate men everywhere. The act aroused the hostility of the most powerful and articulate groups in the population, journalists, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, and businessmen, north and south, east and west, for it bore equally on all sections of the country. Soon leading merchants, whose every bill of lading would be taxed, organized for resistance and formed non-importation associations.

Trade with the mother country fell off sharply in the summer of 1765. Prominent men organized as "Sons of Liberty," and political opposition soon flared into rebellion. Inflamed crowds paraded the streets of Boston. From Massachusetts to South Carolina the act was nullified, and mobs, forcing luckless agents to resign their offices, destroyed the hated stamps.

Spurred by Patrick Henry, the Virginia Assembly passed a set of resolutions denouncing taxation without representation as a threat to colonial liberties. A few days later, the Massachusetts House invited all the colonies to appoint delegates to a Congress in New York to consider the Stamp Act menace. This Congress, held in October 1765, was the first intercolonial meeting ever

summoned on American initiative. Twenty-seven men from nine colonies seized the opportunity to mobilize colonial opinion against parliamentary interference in American affairs. After much debate, the Congress adopted a set of resolutions asserting that "no taxes ever have been or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures" and that the Stamp Act had a "manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists."

TAX DISPUTE ABATES

The issue thus drawn centered on the question of representation. From the colonies' point of view, it was impossible to consider themselves represented in Parliament unless they actually elected members to the House of Commons. But this conflicted with the orthodox English principle of "virtual representation," that is, representation by classes and interests rather than by locality.

Most British officials held that Parliament was an imperial body representing and exercising the same authority over the colonies as over the homeland: It could pass laws for Massachusetts as it could for Berkshire in England.

The American leaders argued that no "imperial" Parliament existed; their only legal relations were with the Crown. It was the King who had agreed to establish colonies beyond the sea and the King who provided them with governments. That the King was equally a King of England and a King of Massachusetts they agreed, but they also insisted that the English Parliament had no more right to pass laws for Massachusetts than the Massachusetts legislature had to pass laws for England.

The British Parliament was unwilling to accept the colonial contentions. British merchants, however, feeling the effects of the American boycott, threw their weight behind a repeal movement, and in 1766 Parliament yielded, repealing the Stamp Act and modifying the Sugar Act. The colonies rejoiced. Colonial merchants gave up the non-importation agreement, the Sons of Liberty subsided, trade resumed its course, peace seemed at hand.

But it was only a respite. The year 1767 brought another series of measures that stirred anew all the elements of discord. Charles Townshend, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, was called upon to draft a new fiscal program. Intent upon reducing

British taxes by making more efficient the collection of duties levied on American trade, he tightened customs administration, at the same time sponsoring duties on paper, glass, lead, and tea exported from Britain to the colonies.

This was designed to raise revenue to be used in part to support colonial governors, judges, customs officers, and the British army in America. Another act suggested by Townshend authorized the superior courts of the colonies to issue writs of assistance, thus giving specific legal authority to the general search warrants already hateful to the colonists.

The agitation following enactment of the Townshend duties was less violent than that stirred by the Stamp Act, but it was nevertheless strong. Merchants once again resorted to non-importation agreements. Men dressed in homespun clothing, women found substitutes for tea. Students used colonial-made paper. Houses went unpainted. In Boston, where the mercantile interests were most sensitive to any interference, enforcement of the new regulations provoked violence. When customs officials sought to collect duties, they were set upon by the populace and roughly handled. For this, two regiments were dispatched to protect the customs commissioners.

The presence of British troops in Boston was a standing invitation to disorder. On March 5, 1770, after 18 months of resentment, antagonism between citizens and soldiery flared up. What began as a harmless snowballing of the redcoats degenerated into a mob attack. Someone gave the order to fire; three Bostonians lay dead in the snow; and colonial agitators had a valuable issue in their campaign to arouse hostility toward England. Dubbed the "Boston Massacre," the incident was dramatically pictured as proof of British heartlessness and tyranny.

Faced with such opposition, Parliament in 1770 opted for a strategic retreat and repealed all the Townshend duties except that on tea. The "tea tax" was retained because, as George III said, there must always be one tax to keep up the right. To most colonists, the action of Parliament constituted, in effect, a "redress of grievances," and the campaign against England was largely dropped. An embargo on "English tea" continued but was not too scrupulously observed.

Generally, the situation seemed auspicious for imperial relations. Prosperity was increasing and most colonial leaders were willing to let the future take care of itself. Inertia and neglect

seemed to succeed where bolder policies had failed. The moderate element, everywhere predominant in the colonies, welcomed this peaceful interlude.

PATRIOTS AGITATE: THE BOSTON "TEA PARTY"

During a three-year interval of calm, a relatively small number of "patriots" or "radicals" strove energetically to keep the controversy alive. As long as the tea tax remained, they contended, the principle of Parliament's right over the colonies remained. And at any time in the future, the principle might be applied in full with devastating effect on colonial liberties.

Typical of the patriots was their most effective leader, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, who toiled tirelessly for a single end: independence. From the time he graduated from Harvard College, Adams was a public servant in some capacity—inspector of chimneys, tax-collector, moderator of town meetings. A consistent failure in business, he was shrewd and able in politics, with the New England town meeting the theater of his action.

Adam's tools were men: his goal was to win the confidence and support of ordinary people, to free them from awe of their social and political superiors, make them aware of their own importance, and arouse them to action. To do this, he published articles in newspapers and made speeches in town meetings, instigating resolutions appealing to the colonists' democratic impulses.

In 1772, he induced the Boston town meeting to select a "committee of correspondence" to state the rights and grievances of the colonists, to communicate with other towns on these matters, and to request them to draft replies. Quickly, the idea spread. Committees were set up in virtually all the colonies, and out of them soon grew a base of effective revolutionary organizations.

In 1773, Britain furnished Adams and his co-workers with a desired issue. The powerful East India Company, finding itself in critical financial straits, appealed to the British government and was granted a monopoly on all tea exported to the colonies. Because of the Townshend tea tax, the colonists had boycotted the company's tea and, after 1770, such a flourishing illegal trade existed that perhaps nine-tenths of the tea consumed in America was of foreign origin and imported duty-free.

The company decided to sell its tea through its own agents at a price well under the customary one, thus simultaneously

making smuggling unprofitable and eliminating the independent colonial merchants. Aroused not only by the loss of the tea trade but also by the monopolistic practice involved, the colonial traders joined the patriots. In virtually all the colonies, steps were taken to prevent the East India Company from executing its design.

In ports other than Boston, agents of the company were "persuaded" to resign, and new shipments of tea were either returned to England or warehoused. In Boston, the agents refused to resign and, with the support of the royal governor, preparations were made to land incoming cargoes regardless of opposition. The answer of the patriots, led by Samuel Adams, was violence. On the night of December 16, 1773, a band of men disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded three British ships lying at anchor and dumped their tea cargo into the Boston harbor.

BRITISH REPRESS COLONY: OTHERS RALLY TO ITS AID

A crisis now confronted Britain. The East India Company had carried out a parliamentary statute, and if the destruction of the tea went unheeded, Parliament would admit to the world it had no control over the colonies. Official opinion in Britai most unanimously condemned the Boston "Tea Party" as a of vandalism and advocated legal measures to bring the insu colonists into line.

Parliament responded with new laws—called by the c "Coercive Acts." The first one, the Boston Port B closed the port of Boston until the tea was paid for, the very life of the city, for to exclude Boston from th economic disaster. Other enactments prescribed app the King of Massachusetts councilors, formerly el colonists; and the summoning of jurors by sheriff agents of the governor. Hitherto jurors had be colonial town meetings. Also, the governor's permi required for holding town meetings, and the removal of judges and sheriffs would be in his h ing Act required local authorities to find su British troops.

The Quebec Act, passed at nearly the s the boundaries of the province of Quebec a right of the French inhabitants to enjoy relig

their own legal customs. The colonists opposed this act because, disregarding old charter claims to western lands, it threatened to interfere with the westward movement and seemed to hem them in to the north and northwest by a Roman Catholic-dominated province. Though the Quebec Act had not been passed as a punitive measure, it was classed by the Americans with the Coercive Acts, and all became known as the "Five Intolerable Acts." These acts, instead of subduing Massachusetts, as they had been planned to do, rallied her sister colonies to her aid.

At the suggestion of the Virginia Burgesses, colonial representatives were summoned to meet in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, "to consult upon the present unhappy state of the Colonies." Delegates to this meeting, known as the first Continental Congress, were chosen by provincial congresses or popular conventions. Every colony except Georgia sent at least one delegate, and the total number of 55 was large enough for diversity of opinion but small enough for genuine debate and effective action.

The division of opinion in the colonies posed a genuine dilemma for the Congress: it must give an appearance of firm unanimity to induce the British government to make concessions and, at the same time, it must avoid any show of radicalism or "spirit of independence" that would alarm moderate Americans. A cautious keynote speech, followed by a "resolve" that no obedience was due the Coercive Acts, ended with a Declaration of Rights and Grievances addressed to the people of Great Britain.

The most important action taken by the Congress, however, was the formation of an "Association," which provided for the renewal of the trade boycott and for a system of committees to inspect customs entries, publish the names of merchants who violated the agreements, confiscate their importations, and encourage frugality, economy, and industry.

The Association everywhere assumed the leadership, spurring new local organizations to end what remained of royal authority. These intimidated the hesitant into joining the popular movement and punished the hostile. They began the collection of military supplies and the mobilization of troops. And they fanned public opinion into revolutionary ardor.

A breach that had been developing slowly among the people widened with the activities of the Association committees. Many Americans, opposed to British encroachment on American rights,

favored discussion and compromise as the proper solution. This group included most of those of official rank (Crown-appointed officers), many Quakers and members of other religious sects opposed to the use of violence, many merchants, especially from the middle colonies, and some discontented farmers and frontiersmen from southern colonies. The patriots, on the other hand, drew their support not only from the less well-to-do but from many of the professional class, especially lawyers, most of the great planters of the south, and a number of merchants.

While the course of events after the passage of the Coercive Acts left the loyalists appalled and frightened, the King might well have effected an alliance with them and, by timely concessions, so strengthened their position that the patriots would have found it difficult to proceed with hostilities. But George III had no intention of making concessions. In September 1774, scorning a petition by Philadelphia Quakers, he wrote, "The die is now cast; the Colonies must either submit or triumph." This cut the ground from under the loyalists or "Tories," as they were coming to be called.

General Thomas Gage, an amiable English gentleman with an American-born wife, was in command of the garrison at Boston, where political activity had almost wholly replaced trade. A leading patriot of the town, Dr. Joseph Warren, wrote to an English friend on February 20, 1775: "It is not yet too late to accommodate the dispute amicably, but I am of the opinion that if once General Gage should lead his troops into the country with the design to enforce the late acts of Parliament, Great Britain may take her leave, at least of the New England colonies, and if I mistake not, of all America. If there is any wisdom in the nation, God grant it may be speedily called forth!"

General Gage's duty was to enforce the Coercive Acts. News reached him that the Massachusetts patriots were collecting powder and military stores at the interior town of Concord, 32 kilometers from Boston. On the night of April 18, 1775, he sent a strong detail of his garrison to confiscate these munitions and to seize Samuel Adams and John Hancock, both of whom had been ordered sent to England to stand trial for their lives. But the whole countryside had been alerted by Paul Revere and two other messengers.

When the British troops, after a night of marching, reached the village of Lexington, they saw through the early morning mist

a grim band of 50 minutemen—armed colonists—lined up across the common. There was a moment of hesitation, cries and orders from both sides and, in the midst of the noise, a shot. Firing broke out along both lines, and the Americans dispersed, leaving eight of their dead upon the green. The first blood of the war for American independence had been shed.

The British pushed on to Concord, where the "embattled farmers" at North Bridge "fired the shot heard round the world." Their purpose partly accomplished, the British force began the return march. All along the road, behind stone walls, hillocks, and houses militiamen from village and farm made targets of the bright red coats of the British soldiers. By the time the weary column stumbled into Boston its losses totaled nearly three times those sustained by the colonists.

THE CONGRESS DEBATES INDEPENDENCE

The news of Lexington and Concord flew from one local community to another in the thirteen colonies. Within 20 days, it evoked a common spirit of American patriotism from Maine to Georgia.

While the alarms of Lexington and Concord were still resounding, the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. Its president was John Hancock, a wealthy Boston merchant. Thomas Jefferson was there too, and the venerable Benjamin Franklin, who had returned from London, where, as "agent" for several of the colonies, he had vainly sought conciliation. The Congress had barely organized before it was called upon to face the issue of open warfare. Although some opposition was present, the real temper of the Congress was revealed by a stirring declaration of the "Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms," the joint product of John Dickinson and Jefferson:

"Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.... The arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will...employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die free men rather than live slaves."

Even as the declaration was being debated, Congress took the militia into continental service and appointed Colonel George Washington commander in chief of the American forces. Yet in

spite of the military involvement and the appointment of a commander in chief, the idea of complete separation from England was still repugnant to some members of the Congress and to a sizeable portion of the American people. It was obvious, however, that the colonies could not forever remain half in and half out of the British empire.

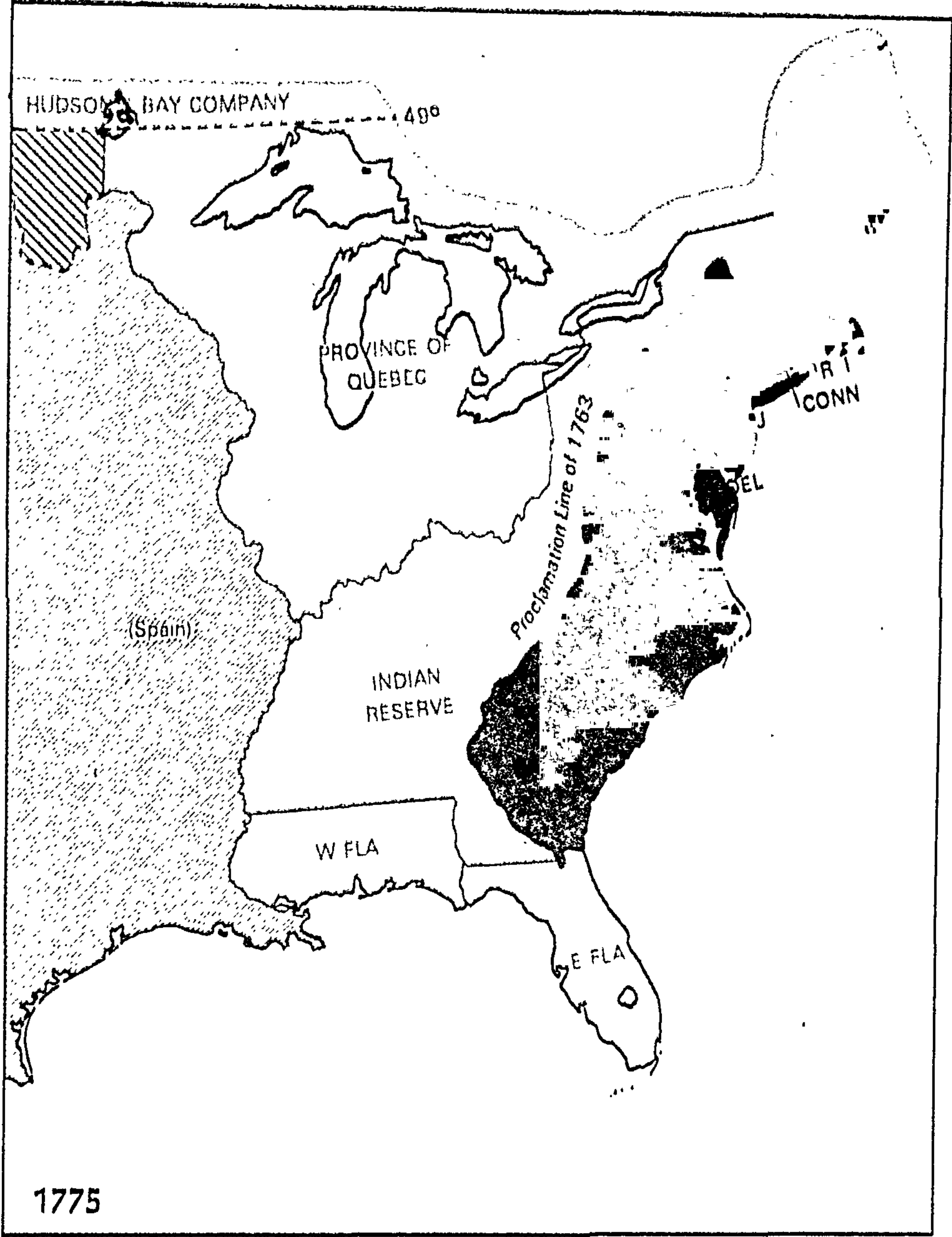
RESOLUTION STIFFENS

As the months wore on, the difficulties of prosecuting a war while still part of the British empire became more and more apparent. No compromise came from England, and, on August 23, 1775, King George issued a proclamation declaring the colonies to be in a state of rebellion.

Five months later, Thomas Paine published a 50-page pamphlet, *Common Sense,* driving home in vigorous style the necessity for independence. Paine, a political theorist who had come to America from England in 1774, even dared to attack the sacred person of the King, ridiculing the idea of hereditary monarchy and declaring that one honest man was worth more to society than "all the crowned ruffians that ever lived." Persuasively he presented the alternatives—continued submission to a tyrannical king and an outworn government or liberty and happiness as a self-sufficient, independent republic. Circulated throughout the colonies, the pamphlet helped to crystallize conviction and to rally the undecided to the cause of separation.

There still remained the task of gaining the approval of each colony to a formal declaration of separation. There was common agreement that the Continental Congress should take no such definitive step as independence without first receiving explicit instructions from the colonies. But the Congress daily heard of the establishment of other new extralegal colonial governments and of delegates being authorized to vote for independence. At the same time, the predominance of radicals in the Congress increased as they extended their correspondence, bolstered weak committees, and fired patriot minds with stirring resolutions.

Finally, on May 10, 1776, a resolution to "cut the Gordian knot" was adopted. Now only a formal declaration was needed. On June 7, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced a resolution declaring in favor of independence, foreign alliances, and American federation. Immediately, a committee of five, headed by



The triumph over France in 1763 gave England possession of vast areas including the Province of Quebec, the territory between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River, and East and West Florida (the Floridas were ceded to Spain in 1783). Fearing that further expansion westward would provoke Indian wars, the British government in 1763 proclaimed the Alleghenies as the western limit of American colonization. The map above shows the situation in 1775, when the thirteen colonies (the dark-shaded area) united to throw off British rule. The central portion is other British territory; the left, as shown, belonged to Spain. Cross-hatching in the upper left corner denotes an area claimed both by England and by Spain.

Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, was appointed to prepare a formal declaration "setting forth the causes which impelled us to this mighty resolution."

COLONIES ADOPT DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Declaration of Independence—adopted July 4, 1776—not only announced the birth of a new nation, it also set forth a philosophy of human freedom thenceforth to be a dynamic force in the entire western world. It rested, not upon particular grievances, but upon a broad base of individual liberty that could command general support throughout America. Its political philosophy is explicit:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

The Declaration of Independence served a purpose far beyond that of a public notice of separation. Its ideas inspired mass fervor for the American cause, for it instilled among ordinary folk a sense of their own importance, inspiring them to struggle for personal freedom, self-government, and a dignified place in society.

The Revolutionary War lasted more than six years, with fighting in every colony. Even before the Declaration of Independence, there were military operations that had an important influence on the outcome of the war—for instance, the crushing of the North Carolina loyalists in February of 1776, and in March the forced evacuation of British forces from Boston.

For many months after independence was declared, the Americans suffered severe setbacks. The first of these was in New York. In the battle of Long Island, Washington's position became untenable, and he executed a masterly retreat in small boats from Brooklyn to the Manhattan shore. The wind held north and the British warships could not come up the East River. Thus British

General William Howe lost a chance to deal the American cause a crushing blow, perhaps to end the war.

Washington, though constantly driven back, was able to keep his forces fairly intact until the end of the year. Important victories at Trenton and Princeton revived colonial hopes, then once more calamity struck. In September 1777, Howe captured Philadelphia, drove the Congress into flight, and left Washington to winter with his men at Valley Forge.

Nevertheless, 1777 also saw the greatest American victory of the war, the military turning point of the Revolution. British General John Burgoyne moved down from Canada with a force designed to gain control of the Lake Champlain-Hudson River line and thus isolate New England from the other colonies. Burgoyne reached the upper Hudson River but, before he could proceed southward, was compelled to wait for supplies until the middle of September.

Ignorance of American geography led him to suppose it would be easy for a raiding force to march across the Hampshire Grants (Vermont) down along the Connecticut River and back, collecting horses, cattle, and wagons along the way for the use of his army—all in a matter of two weeks. For this exploit he chose 375 dismounted Hessian dragoons and about 300 Canadians and Indians. They did not even reach the Vermont line. The Vermont militia met them near Bennington. Few of the Hessians ever returned.

The Battle of Bennington rallied New England militiamen, and Washington sent reinforcements from the lower Hudson. By the time Burgoyne again put his force in motion, the army of General Horatio Gates was waiting for him. Led by Benedict Arnold, the Americans twice repulsed the British. Burgoyne fell back to Saratoga, and on October 17, 1777, he surrendered. This decisive blow of the war brought France to the American side.

COLONIES GAIN VICTORY AND FREEDOM

From the time the Declaration of Independence was signed, France had not been neutral. The government had been eager for reprisal against England ever since the defeat of France in 1763. Moreover, enthusiasm for the American cause was high: the French intellectual world was itself in revolt against feudalism and privilege. Still, though France had welcomed Benjamin Franklin

to the French court and had given the United States aid in the form of munitions and supplies, it had been reluctant to risk direct intervention and open war with England.

After Burgoyne's surrender, however, Franklin was able to secure treaties of commerce and alliance. Even before this, many French volunteers had sailed to America. The most prominent among them was the Marquis de Lafayette, a young army officer, who, in the winter of 1779-80, went to Versailles and persuaded his government to make a real effort to bring the war to an end. Soon afterward, Louis XVI sent to America an expeditionary force of 6,000 men under the Comte de Rochambeau. In addition, the French fleet aggravated the difficulties the British were having in supplying and reinforcing their forces, and Frenchmen joined with American blockade runners in inflicting severe losses on British commerce.

In 1778, the British were forced to evacuate Philadelphia because of threatened action by the French fleet. During the same year, in the Ohio Valley, they suffered a series of setbacks which assured American domination of the northwest. Nevertheless, the British continued to press the war in the south. Early in 1780 they captured Charleston, the principal southern seaport, and overran the Carolina country. The following year they made an effort to conquer Virginia. But the French fleet, which temporarily gained control of American coastal waters that summer, ferried Washington's and Rochambeau's troops in boats down Chesapeake Bay. Their combined armies, totaling 15,000 men, penned in Lord Cornwallis' army of 8,000 at Yorktown on the Virginia coast. On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered.

When the news of the American victory at Yorktown reached Europe, the House of Commons voted to end the war. Peace negotiations began in April 1782 and continued through November, when preliminary treaties were signed. These were not to take effect until France concluded peace with Great Britain. In 1783, they were signed as final and definitive. The peace settlement acknowledged the independence, freedom, and sovereignty of the 13 states, to which it granted the much coveted territory west to the Mississippi, and set the northern boundary of the nation nearly as it runs now. The Congress was to recommend to the states that they restore the confiscated property of the loyalists.

THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

"Every man, and every body of men on earth, possess the right of self-government."
Thomas Jefferson, 1790

The success of the Revolution gave Americans the opportunity to give legal form to their political ideals as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, and to remedy some of their grievances through state constitutions. Today, Americans are so accustomed to living under written constitutions that they take them for granted. Yet the written constitution was developed in America and theirs is among the earliest in history. "In all free states, the constitution is final," wrote John Adams, second President of the United States. And Americans everywhere demanded "a standing law to live by."

As early as May 10, 1776, Congress had passed a resolution advising the colonies to form new governments "such as shall best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents." Some of them had already done so, and within a year after the Declaration of Independence every state but three had drawn up a constitution.

Most of the new constitutions showed the impact of democratic ideas. None made any drastic break with the past, since all were built on the solid foundation of colonial experience, English practice, and French political philosophy. But it is significant that it was in the actual drafting of these state constitutions that the American Revolution was accomplished.

Naturally, the first objective of the framers of the constitutions was to secure those "unalienable rights" whose violation had caused the former colonies to repudiate their connection with England. Thus each constitution began with a declaration

of rights. Virginia's, which served as a model for all the others, included a declaration of principles, such as popular sovereignty, rotation in office, freedom of elections, and an enumeration of the fundamental liberties—moderate bail and humane punishment; a militia instead of a standing army; speedy trial by jury; freedom of the press and of conscience; the right of the majority to reform or alter the government; and the prohibition of general warrants.

Other states enlarged the list of liberties to include freedom of speech, of assembly, and of petition, and frequently included such rights as the right to bear arms and the right to a writ of *habeas corpus*, to inviolability of domicile, and to equal protection under the law. Moreover, all the constitutions paid allegiance to the three-branch structure of government—executive, legislative, and judiciary, each checked and balanced by the others.

While the thirteen colonies were being transformed into states and were adjusting themselves to the conditions of independence, new commonwealths were developing in the vast land stretching westward from the seaboard settlements. Lured by the richest land yet found in the country, pioneers poured over the Appalachian Mountains and beyond. By 1775, the far-flung outposts scattered along the waterways had tens of thousands of settlers. Separated by mountain ranges and hundreds of kilometers from the centers of political authority in the east, the inhabitants established their own governments. Settlers from all the tidewater states pressed on into the fertile river valleys, hardwood forests, and rolling prairies of the interior. By 1790, the population of the trans-Appalachian region numbered well over 120,000.

PROBLEMS CONFRONT THE NEW NATION

With the end of the Revolution, the United States again had to face the old unsolved western question—the problem of "empire," with its complications of land, fur trade, Indians, settlement and government of dependencies. Before the war, several colonies had laid extensive and often overlapping claims to land beyond the Appalachians. To those without such claims this rich territorial prize seemed unfairly apportioned.

Maryland, as spokesman of the latter group, introduced a resolution that the western lands be considered common property to be parceled by the Congress into free and independent governments. This idea was not received enthusiastically. Nonetheless,

in 1780, New York led the way by ceding her claims to the United States. She was soon followed by the other colonies, and, by the end of the war, it was apparent that Congress would come into possession of all the lands north of the Ohio River and probably of all west of the Allegheny Mountains. This common possession of millions of hectares was the most tangible evidence of nationality and unity that existed during these troubled years and gave a certain substance to the idea of national sovereignty. Yet it was at the same time a problem which pressed for solution.

The Articles of Confederation, a formal agreement that had loosely unified the colonies since 1781, offered a solution. Under the Articles, a system of limited self-government (set forth in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787) provided for the organization of the Northwest Territory, initially as a single district, ruled by a governor and judges appointed by the Congress. When this territory should contain 5,000 male inhabitants of voting age, it was to be entitled to a legislature of two chambers, itself electing the lower house. In addition, it could at that time send a non-voting delegate to Congress.

No more than five nor fewer than three states were to be formed out of this territory, and whenever any one of them had 60,000 free inhabitants, it was to be admitted to the Union "on an equal footing with the original states in all respects." Six "articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory" guaranteed civil rights and liberties, encouraged education, and guaranteed that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory."

Thus a new colonial policy based upon the principle of equality was inaugurated. The new policy repudiated the time-honored concept that colonies exist for the benefit of the mother country and are politically subordinate and socially inferior. That doctrine was replaced by the principle that colonies are but the extension of the nation and are entitled, not as a privilege but as a right, to all the benefits of equality. The enlightened provision of the Ordinance thus laid the basis for America's public land policy and enabled the United States to expand westward to the Pacific Ocean and to develop, with relatively little difficulty, from 13 to 50 states.

In the solution of other problems the Articles of Confederation proved disappointing. A notable shortcoming was their failure to provide a genuine national government for the 13 states,

which had been tending toward unification since their delegates first met in 1774 to resist encroaching British power.

NEW CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT EMERGES

The struggle with England had done much to change the colonial attitude of 20 years earlier. Then local assemblies had rejected the Albany Plan of Union, refusing to surrender even the smallest part of their autonomy to any other body, even one they themselves had elected. But in the course of the Revolution, mutual aid had proved effective, and the fear of relinquishing individual authority had lessened to a large degree.

The Articles went into effect in 1781. Though they constituted an advance over the loose arrangements provided by the Continental Congress system, the governmental framework they established had many weaknesses. There was quarreling over boundary lines. The courts handed down decisions that conflicted with one another. The legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania passed tariff laws that injured their smaller neighbors. Restriction upon commerce between states created bitter feeling. New Jersey men, for example, could not cross the Hudson River to sell vegetables in New York markets without paying heavy entrance and clearance fees.

The national government should have had the authority to set up tariffs when necessary, to regulate commerce, and to levy taxes for national purposes. It should have had sole control of international relations, but a number of states had begun their own negotiations with foreign countries. Nine states had organized their own armies, and several had little navies of their own. There was a curious hodgepodge of coins and a bewildering variety of state and national paper bills, all fast depreciating in value.

Economic difficulties subsequent to the war also caused discontent, especially among the farmers. Farm produce tended to be a glut on the market, and general unrest centered chiefly among farmer-debtors who wanted strong remedies to insure against the foreclosure of mortgages on their property and to avoid imprisonment for debt. Courts were clogged with suits for debt. All through the summer of 1786, popular conventions and informal gatherings in several states demanded reform in the state administrations. Many yeomen, facing debtor's prison and loss of ancestral farms, resorted to violence.

In the autumn of 1786, mobs of farmers in Massachusetts, under the leadership of a former army captain, Daniel Shays, began forcibly to prevent the county courts from sitting and to prevent further judgments for debt, pending the next state election. The state government offered stout resistance, and for a few days there was danger that the state house in Boston would be beseiged by an infuriated yeomanry. But the rebels, armed chiefly with staves and pitchforks, were repulsed by the militia and scattered into the hills. Only after the uprising was crushed did the legislature consider the justice of the grievances that had caused it and take steps to remedy them.

At this time, George Washington wrote that the states were united only by a "rope of sand," and the prestige of the Congress had fallen to a low point. Disputes between Maryland and Virginia over navigation on the Potomac River led to a conference of representatives of five states at Annapolis in 1786. One of these delegates, Alexander Hamilton, convinced his colleagues that commerce was too much bound up with other questions and that the situation was too serious to be dealt with by so unrepresentative a body as themselves.

He induced the gathering to call upon all the states to appoint representatives of the United States and to "devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." The Continental Congress was at first indignant over this bold step, but its protests were cut short by the news that Virginia had elected George Washington a delegate, and during the next fall and winter, elections were held in all the states but Rhode Island.

It was a gathering of notables that assembled as the Federal Convention in the Philadelphia State House in May 1787. The state legislatures sent leaders with experience in colonial and state governments, in Congress, on the bench, and in the field. George Washington, regarded as the country's outstanding citizen because of his integrity and his military leadership during the Revolution, was chosen as presiding officer. The sage Benjamin Franklin, now 81, let the younger men do most of the talking, but his kindly humor and wide experience in diplomacy helped ease some of the difficulties among the other delegates.

Prominent among the more active members were two Pennsylvanians: Gouverneur Morris, able and daring, who clearly

saw the need for national government; and James Wilson, who labored indefatigably for the national idea. From Virginia came James Madison, a practical young statesman, a thorough student of politics and history and, according to a colleague, "from a spirit of industry and application . . . the best-informed man on any point in debate."

Massachusetts sent Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry, young men of ability and experience. Roger Sherman, shoemaker turned judge, was one of the representatives from Connecticut. From New York came Alexander Hamilton, just turned 30 and already famous. One of the few great men of colonial America absent from the Convention was Thomas Jefferson, who was in France on a mission of state. Youth predominated among the 55 delegates, for the average age was 42.

The Convention had been authorized merely to draft amendments to the Articles of Confederation but, as Madison later wrote, the delegates, "with a manly confidence in their country," simply threw the Articles aside and went ahead with the building of a wholly new form of government.

They recognized that the predominant need was to reconcile two different powers—the power of local control, which was already being exercised by the 13 semi-independent states, and the power of a central government. They adopted the principle that the functions and powers of the national government, being new, general, and inclusive, had to be carefully defined and stated, while all other functions and powers were to be understood as belonging to the states. But realizing that the central government must have real power, the delegates also generally accepted the fact that the government should be authorized—among other things—to coin money, to regulate commerce, to declare war, and to make peace.

LEADERS FAVOR SEPARATION OF POWERS

The 18th century statesmen who met in Philadelphia were adherents of Montesquieu's concept of the balance of power in politics. This principle was supported by colonial experience and strengthened by the writings of Locke, with which most of the delegates were familiar. These influences led to the conviction that three equal and coordinate branches of government should be established. Legislative, executive, and judicial powers were to be

so harmoniously balanced that no one could ever gain control. The delegates agreed that the legislative branch, like the colonial legislatures and the British Parliament, should consist of two houses.

On these points there was unanimity within the assembly. But sharp differences arose as to the method of achieving them. Representatives of the small states, New Jersey, for instance, objected to changes that would reduce their influence in the national government by basing representation upon population rather than upon statehood, as under the Articles of Confederation.

On the other hand, representatives of large states like Virginia argued for proportionate representation. This debate threatened to go on endlessly until the Connecticut delegate came forward with able arguments for representation in proportion to the population of the states in one house of Congress and equal representation in the other.

The alignment of large against small states then dissolved. But almost every succeeding question raised new alignments, to be resolved only by new compromises. Certain members wished no branch of the federal government to be elected directly by the people; others thought the national government should be given as broad a popular base as possible. Some delegates wished to exclude the growing west from the opportunity of statehood; others championed the equality principle established in the Ordinance of 1787. There was no serious difference on such national economic questions as paper money and laws concerning contract obligations. But there was a need for balancing sectional economic interests; for settling arguments as to the powers, term, and selection of the chief executive; and for solving problems involving the tenure of judges and the kind of courts to be established.

Laboring through a hot Philadelphia summer, the Convention finally achieved a draft incorporating in a brief document the organization of the most complex government yet devised by man—a government supreme within a clearly defined and limited sphere. As the Tenth Amendment would make clear in 1791, "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people;" and the supremacy of federal laws is limited to such as "shall be made in pursuance of the Constitution."

In conferring powers, the Convention gave the federal gov-

ernment full power to levy taxes; borrow money; establish uniform duties, imposts, and excise; coin money; fix weights and measures; grant patents and copyrights; set up post offices; and build post roads. The national government was also empowered to raise and maintain an army and navy and to regulate interstate commerce. It was given the management of Indian relations, of international relations, and of war. It could pass laws for naturalizing foreigners and controlling the public lands, and it could admit new states on a basis of absolute equality with the old. The power to pass all necessary and proper laws for executing these clearly defined powers rendered the federal government sufficiently elastic to meet the needs of later generations and of a greatly expanded body politic.

PRINCIPLES ALREADY WERE WELL TRIED

The principle of separation of powers, familiar to most colonial governments, had already been given a fair trial in most state constitutions and had proved sound. Accordingly, the Convention set up a governmental system with separate legislative, executive, and judiciary branches—each checked by the others.

Thus congressional enactments were not to be made until approved by the President. And the President was to submit the most important of his appointments and all his treaties to the Senate for confirmation. He, in turn, might be impeached and removed by Congress. The judiciary was to hear all cases arising under the laws and the Constitution; in effect, therefore, the courts were empowered to interpret both the fundamental and the statute law. But the judiciary, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, might also be impeached by Congress.

To protect the Constitution from hasty alteration, Article V stipulated that amendments to the Constitution be proposed either by two-thirds of both houses of Congress or by two-thirds of the states, meeting in convention. The proposals were to be ratified by one of two methods: either by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, or by convention in three-fourths of the states, with the Congress proposing the method to be used.

Finally, the Convention faced the most important problem of all: How should the powers given to the new government be enforced? Under the Articles of Confederation, the national gov-

ernment had possessed—on paper—large, though by no means adequate, powers, which, in practice, had come to naught, for the states paid no attention to them. What was to save the new government from the same fate?

At the outset, most delegates furnished a single answer—the use of force. But it was quickly seen that the application of force upon the states would destroy the Union. The decision was that the government should not act upon the states but upon the people within the states, and should legislate for and upon all the individual residents of the country. As the keystone of the Constitution, the Convention adopted a brief but highly significant statement:

"Congress shall have power...to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the...powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States.... (Article I, Section viii.)

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." (Article VI.)

Thus the laws of the United States became enforceable in its own national courts, through its own judges and marshals, as well as in the state courts through the state judges and state law officers.

On September 17, 1787, after 16 weeks of deliberation, the finished Constitution was signed by unanimous consent of the states present. Washington and the other delegates, impressed by the solemnity of the moment, sat in grave meditation. Franklin relieved the tension with a characteristic sally. Pointing to the half-sun painted in brilliant gold on the back of Washington's chair, he said:

"I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting, sun."

The Convention was over; the members "adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other." Yet a crucial part of the struggle for a more perf

was yet to be faced. The consent of popularly elected state conventions was still required before the document could become effective.

The Convention had decided that the Constitution would take effect as soon as it was approved by conventions in nine of the 13 states. By the end of 1787, three had ratified it. But would six others? To many plain folk the document seemed full of dangers, for would not the strong central government that it set up tyrannize them, oppress them with heavy taxes, and drag them into wars?

Differing views on these questions brought into existence two parties, the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists—those favoring a strong government and those who preferred a loose association of separate states. Impassioned arguments on both sides were voiced by the press, the legislatures, and the state conventions. The ablest of the arguments appeared in the *Federalist Papers*, now a classic political work, written in behalf of the new Constitution by Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay.

A particularly sharp contest in Massachusetts, where agrarian discontent was still rife, resulted in a Bill of Rights appended to the state constitution in the form of amendments. Other states also incorporated such an addition to their constitutions, and a Bill of Rights, forming the first ten amendments to the federal Constitution, was incorporated in the supreme law of the land.

Among other rights these amendments have guaranteed to citizens of the United States freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly; a militia instead of a standing army; the right to trial by jury; speedy trials by the law of the land; and prohibition of general warrants. Adoption of the Bill of Rights soon brought the wavering states to the support of the Constitution, which was finally adopted June 25, 1788.

The Congress of the Confederation arranged for the first presidential election, setting March 4, 1789, as the date that the new government would come into being.

WASHINGTON PLANS WISELY

One name was on every man's lips for the new chief of state: George Washington, who was unanimously chosen President. On April 30, 1789, Washington took the oath of office. He pledged to execute the duties of the Presidency faithfully and, to the best

of his ability, to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

It was a lusty republic that set out upon its career. The economic problems caused by the war were on their way to solution and the country was growing steadily. Immigration from Europe came in volume; good farms were to be had for small sums; labor was in strong demand. The rich valley stretches of upper New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia soon became great wheat-growing areas.

Although many items were still homemade, manufactures too were growing. Massachusetts and Rhode Island were laying the foundation of important textile industries; Connecticut was beginning to turn out tinware and clocks; New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were producing paper, glass, and iron. Shipping had grown to such an extent that on the seas the United States was second only to England. Before 1790, American ships were traveling to China to sell furs and bring back tea, spices, and silk.

The main thrust of American energy, however, was westward. New Englanders and Pennsylvanians were moving into Ohio; Virginians and Carolinians were heading for Kentucky and Tennessee. Up the long slopes of the Alleghenies climbed the white-topped wagons of the frontiersmen's trains. Into Kentucky wound the buckskin-clad hunters and the pioneers with carts of furniture, seeds, farm implements, and domestic animals. In many a rough clearing, the frontier farmer and his neighbors raised a log cabin, its timbers chinked with clay, its roof covered with oak staves. Year after year, rafts and boats laden with grain, salt meat, and potash floated down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Western towns grew more important.

This was the state of affairs when Washington took office. The new Constitution enjoyed neither tradition nor the full backing of organized public opinion. The two parties formed during the period of ratification continued to be antagonistic. The Federalists were for strong central government and the fostering of business and commercial interests. The Anti-Federalists were the champions of states' rights and agrarianism.

Moreover, the new government had to create its own machinery. No taxes were coming in. Until a judiciary could be established, there was no means of law enforcement. The army was small. The navy had ceased to exist. At this critica[illegible]cture Washington's wise leadership was crucial. The qualit[illegible]

made him the first soldier in the Revolution also fitted him to be the first statesman in the newly organized republic. He had the foresight to plan wisely for distant ends and the capacity for taking infinite pains. Direct rather than shrewd, daring and brave though dignified, reserved, and sincerely humble, he inspired respect and trust.

TWO ENDURING VIEWPOINTS COMPETE

Congress quickly created departments of State and of the Treasury. Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State and Alexander Hamilton, his aide during the Revolution, as Secretary of the Treasury. Simultaneously, the Congress established the federal judiciary, setting up not only a Supreme Court, with one Chief Justice (John Jay was named to the post) and five associate justices, but also three circuit courts and 13 district courts.

In the first administration, both a Secretary of War and an Attorney General were also appointed. And since Washington generally preferred to make decisions only after consulting those men whose judgment he valued, the American Cabinet came into existence, consisting of the heads of all the departments that Congress might create.

Hamilton and Jefferson represented two powerful, though to some extent antagonistic, forces in American life. Hamilton tended toward closer union and a stronger national government; Jefferson leaned toward a broader, freer democracy. Hamilton brought to public life a love of efficiency, order, and organization. In response to the call of the House of Representatives for a plan for the "adequate support of public credit," he laid down and supported principles not only of the public economy as such, but of effective government.

He pointed out that America must have credit for industrial development, commercial activity, and the operations of government. It must also have the complete faith and support of the people. There were many who wished to repudiate the national debt or pay only part of it, but Hamilton insisted upon full payment and also upon a plan by which the federal government took over the unpaid debts of the states incurred in furthering the Revolution.

Hamilton did much else. He devised a Bank of the United States, with the right to establish branches in different parts of

: country. He sponsored a national mint, and argued in favor tariffs based upon the protection principle in order to foster : development of national industries. These measures—placing : credit of the federal government on a firm foundation and ing it all the revenues it needed—encouraged commerce and instry, and created a solid phalanx of businessmen who stood firmly hind the national government and were ready to resist any atnpt to weaken it.

More meditative and philosophical, Thomas Jefferson was quently at odds with Hamilton. Jefferson recognized the value a strong central government in foreign relations, but, fearing would fetter free men, he did not want it strong in many other pects. Hamilton's great aim was more efficient organization; fferson's was wider individual liberty, in the belief that "every in and every body of men on earth possess the right of selfvernment." Hamilton feared anarchy and thought in terms of der; Jefferson feared tyranny and thought in terms of freedom. ie United States needed both influences. It was the country's od fortune that it had both men and could, in time, fuse and concile their philosophies. One clash between them, which ocrred shortly after Jefferson took office as Secretary of State, led a new and profoundly important interpretation of the Constition. When Hamilton introduced his bill to establish a national nk, Jefferson objected. Speaking for those who believed in states' ghts as opposed to national rights, and for those who feared eat corporations, he argued that the Constitution expressly umerates all the powers belonging to the federal government d reserves all other powers to the states. Nowhere was it emwered to set up a bank.

Hamilton contended that, because of the mass of necessary tail, a vast body of powers had to be implied by general clauses, d one of these authorized Congress to "make all laws which all be necessary and proper" for carrying out other powers ecifically granted. The Constitution authorized the national vernment to levy and collect taxes, pay debts, borrow money. national bank would materially help in performing these funcons efficiently. Congress, therefore, was entitled, under its imied powers, to create such a bank. Washington and the Conress accepted Hamilton's view, thus establishing a p—dent.

Although one of the first tasks to be done wa e domestic economy and make the Union financ

young nation could not ignore political affairs abroad. The cornerstone of Washington's foreign policy was to preserve peace, to give the country time to recover from its wounds, and to permit the slow work of national integration to continue. Events in Europe threatened this goal. Many Americans were watching the French Revolution with the keenest interest and sympathy, and in April 1793, news came that made this conflict an issue in American politics. France had declared war on Great Britain and Spain, and Citizen Genét was coming to the United States as Minister of the French Republic.

America was still formally an ally of France, and felt a debt of gratitude for her aid in the War of Independence. But though the people and the government wished the French well, they wanted very much to stay out of war. Washington proclaimed a state of neutrality, and when Genét arrived, he was treated with cool formality. Angered, he attempted to disobey an order forbidding him to use American ports as bases of operation for French privateers. Shortly afterward the United States requested his recall by the French government.

The Genêt incident strained American relations with France. At the same time, relations with Great Britain were far from satisfactory. British troops still occupied forts in the west, property carried off by British soldiers during the Revolution had not been restored or paid for, and the British navy was playing havoc with American commerce. To settle these matters, Washington sent to London, as envoy extraordinary, John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States. Acting with moderation, Jay negotiated a treaty securing withdrawal of the British from western forts and some slight trading concessions. Nothing was said, however, about the return of property, seizure of American ships in the future, or "impressment"—the forcing of American sailors into British naval service.

WASHINGTON RETIRES

Jay's treaty caused general dissatisfaction, but as the end of Washington's second administration approached, it was evident that marked progress had been made in other fields. The government had been organized, national credit established, maritime commerce fostered, the Northwest Territory recovered, and peace preserved.

Washington retired in 1797, firmly declining to serve for more than eight years at the nation's head. His Vice President, John Adams of Massachusetts, was elected the new President. Even before he entered the Presidency, Adams had quarreled with Alexander Hamilton—who had contributed much to the previous administration—and thus was handicapped by a divided party. These domestic difficulties were compounded by international complications: France, angered by Jay's recent treaty with Britain, refused to accept Adams' minister. When Adams sent three other commissioners to Paris, and they too were rejected, American indignation rose to an excited pitch. Troops were enlisted, the navy was strengthened, and, in 1799, after a series of sea battles with the French in which American ships were victorious, war seemed inescapable. In this crisis, Adams thrust aside the guidance of Hamilton, who wanted war, and sent a new minister to France. Napoleon, who had just come to power, received him cordially and the danger of conflict subsided.

JEFFERSON'S DEMOCRATIC IDEAS

By 1800 the American people, dissatisfied with Adams' domestic policies, were ready for a change. Under Washington and Adams, the Federalists had established a strong government, but, sometimes failing to honor the principle that the American government must be responsive to the will of the people, they had followed policies that did much to alienate large groups.

Jefferson, a born popular leader, had steadily gathered behind him a great mass of small farmers, shopkeepers, and other workers, and in the election of 1800 they asserted themselves with tremendous power. "The tough sides of our Argosie have been thoroughly tried," wrote Jefferson to a friend. "We shall put her on her republican tack, and she will now show by the beauty of her motion the skill of her builders."

Jefferson enjoyed extraordinary favor because of his appeal to American idealism. In his inaugural address, he promised "a wise and frugal government" which should preserve order among the inhabitants but would "leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement."

Jefferson's mere presence in the White House encouraged democratic procedures. To him the plainest citizen was as worthy of respect as the highest officer. He taught

regard themselves merely as trustees of the people. He encouraged agriculture and westward expansion. Believing in America as a haven for the oppressed, he urged a liberal naturalization law. By the end of 1809, his far-sighted Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, had reduced the national debt to less than $60 million. As a wave of Jeffersonian fervor swept the nation, state after state abolished property qualifications for the ballot and passed more humane laws for debtors and criminals.

One of Jefferson's acts doubled the area of the nation. Spain had long held the country west of the Mississippi River, with the port of New Orleans near its mouth—a port indispensable for the shipment of American products grown in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Shortly after Jefferson came into office, Napoleon forced a weak Spanish government to cede the great tract called Louisiana back to France. The move filled Americans with apprehension and indignation. Napoleon's plans for a huge colonial empire just west of the United States menaced the trading rights and the safety of all the interior settlements.

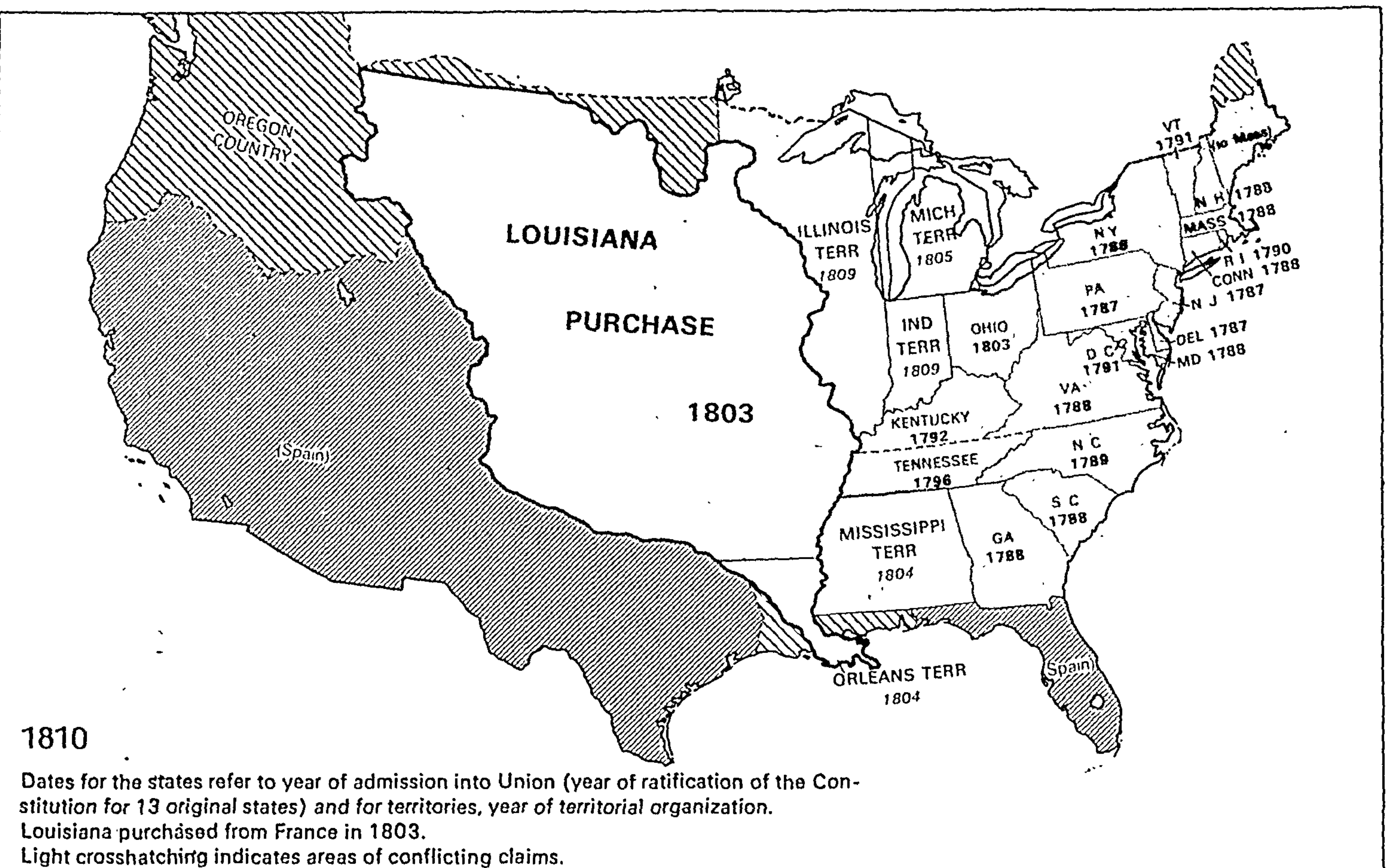
Jefferson asserted that if France took possession of Louisiana, "from that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation," and that the first cannon shot fired in a European war would be the signal for the march of an Anglo-American army against New Orleans.

Napoleon, knowing that another war with Great Britain was impending after the brief Peace of Amiens and realizing that when it began he would lose Louisiana, resolved to fill his treasury and put Louisiana beyond the reach of the British by selling it to the United States.

For $15 million, the United States in 1803 obtained more than 2,600,000 square kilometers and with it the port of New Orleans. The nation had gained a sweep of rich plains that within 80 years would become one of the world's great granaries. It also had control of the whole central river system of the continent.

SECOND WAR WITH ENGLAND

Jefferson's widespread popularity assured his reelection in 1804. Louisiana was manifestly a great prize, the country was prosperous, and the President had tried hard to please all sections. In his second term, which began in 1805, Jefferson declared American neutrality during the struggle between Great Britain



Dates for the states refer to year of admission into Union (year of ratification of the Constitution for 13 original states) and for territories, year of territorial organization.
Louisiana purchased from France in 1803.
Light crosshatching indicates areas of conflicting claims.

Source: U.S. Geological Survey

and France, whose forces had set up blockades that struck heavy blows at American commerce. No American craft could trade with France or Britain without threat of seizure.

The British had built their navy to more than 700 warships, manned by nearly 150,000 sailors and marines, which kept Britain safe, protected her commerce, and preserved her communications with her colonies. Yet the men of her fleet were so poorly treated that it was impossible to obtain crews by free enlistment. Many sailors deserted and found refuge on American vessels. In these circumstances, British officers regarded it their right to search American ships and take off British subjects, to the great humiliation of the Americans. Moreover, British officers frequently impressed American seamen into their service.

Jefferson finally persuaded Congress to pass an Embargo Act, forbidding foreign commerce. The effects of the law were disastrous. Shipping interests were almost ruined by the measure, and discontent rose in New England and New York. Agricultural interests found that they too were suffering heavily, for prices dropped drastically when the southern and western farmers could not ship their surplus grain, meat, and tobacco.

In a single year American exports fell to one-fifth of their former volume. But the hope that the embargo would starve Great Britain into a change of policy failed. As the grumbling at home increased, Jefferson turned to a milder measure, which conciliated the domestic shipping interests. Substituted for the embargo was a non-intercourse law that permitted commerce with all countries except Britain or France and their dependencies. This paved the way for negotiations by authorizing the President to suspend the operation of the law against either of these upon the withdrawal of its restrictions upon American trade. In 1810, Napoleon announced that he had abandoned his measures. In fact he continued to maintain them, but the United States took him at his word and thereafter limited its non-intercourse to Great Britain.

In 1809, James Madison succeeded Jefferson. Relations with Great Britain grew worse, and the two countries drifted rapidly toward war. The President laid before Congress a detailed report, showing 6,057 instances in which the British had impressed American citizens. In addition, northwestern settlers had suffered from attacks by Indians, who they believed had been encouraged by British agents in Canada. In 1812, the United States declared war on Britain.



Fourth-of-July parades with picnics and speeches soon became a cherished tradition.

Independence won, former colonies joined the rest of the world in wondering what next? First of all, unite. Then grow, build, trade, explore, and move west, always west, a nation of pioneer visionaries, each with his own dream.

TREATY OF GHENT ENDS WAR

The United States suffered from internal divisions of the gravest kind. While the south and west favored war, New York and New England in general opposed it. The declaration of war had been made with army preparations still far from complete. There were fewer than 7,000 regular soldiers, distributed in widely scattered posts along the coast, near the Canadian border, and in the remote interior. These were to be supported by the undrilled, undisciplined militia of the several states.

Hostilities began with a triple movement for the invasion of Canada, which, if properly timed and executed, would have brought united action against Montreal. But the entire campaign miscarried and ended with the British occupation of Detroit. The navy, however, scored successes and restored American confidence. The frigate *Constitution,* with Captain Isaac Hull in command, met the British *Guerriere* southeast of Boston on August 19 and destroyed her. Two months later, the American sloop *Wasp* demolished the British sloop *Frolic.* In addition, American privateers, swarming the Atlantic, captured 500 British vessels during the fall and winter of 1812-13.

The campaign of 1813 centered about Lake Erie in New York state. General William Henry Harrison had led an army of militia, volunteers, and regulars from Kentucky with the object of reconquering Detroit. On September 12, while he was still in upper Ohio, news reached him that Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry had annihilated the enemy's ships on Lake Erie. Harrison occupied Detroit and pushed into Canada, defeating the fleeing British and their Indian allies on the Thames River. The entire region now came under American control.

Another decisive turn in the war occurred a year later when Commodore Thomas Macdonough won a point-blank gun duel with a British flotilla on Lake Champlain in upper New York. Deprived of naval support, a British invasion force of 10,000 men retreated to Canada. At about the same time, the British fleet, with orders to "destroy and lay waste," was harassing the eastern seaboard. On the night of August 24, an expeditionary force burst into Washington, home of the federal government, and left it in flames. President Madison and other officials fled to Virginia.

Three weeks later, the British fleet attacked Baltimore, shelling Fort McHenry, which guarded the city.

witnessing the action, Francis Scott Key, a young Maryland lawyer detained on a British ship, was inspired to write "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Ghent, which provided for the cessation of hostilities, the restoration of conquests, and a commission to settle boundary disputes. The dramatic victory Andrew Jackson won at New Orleans over a strong British force came after the peace treaty had been signed but before this was known in America.

The War of 1812 strengthened national unity and patriotism. Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury from 1801 to 1813, said that before the conflict Americans were becoming too selfish and too prone to think in local terms. "The war," he said, "has renewed and reinstated the national feeling and character which the Revolution had given and which were daily lessening. The people have now more general objects of attachment, with which their pride and political opinions are connected. They are more American; they feel and act more as a nation; and I hope that the permanency of the Union is thereby better secured."

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

"Go west, young man, and grow up with the country."
Horace Greeley, 1851

The War of 1812 was, in a sense, a second war of independence, for before that time the United States had not yet been accorded equality in the family of nations. After the treaty ending that war, the United States was never again refused the treatment due an independent nation. Most of the serious difficulties that the young republic had faced since the Revolution now disappeared. National union brought a balance between liberty and order. With only a trifling national debt, and a virgin continent awaiting the plow, a prospect of peace, prosperity, and social progress opened before the nation.

Politically, this was an "era of good feeling," as contemporaries called it. Commerce was cementing national unity. The privations of war had shown the importance of protecting the manufacturers of America until they could stand alone against foreign competition. Económic independence, it was urged, was as essential as political; indeed, political independence was hardly a reality without economic self-sufficiency and, as the Revolutionary War had been fought for the one, so now it was proposed to fight for the other. To foster this self-sufficiency, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, congressional leaders of the time, urged "protectionism"—imposition of a tariff to foster the development of American industry.

The time was propitious for raising the customs tariff. The shepherds of Vermont and Ohio wished protection against an influx of English wool. In Kentucky, a new industry of we[illegible] local hemp into cotton bagging was menaced by the Sc[illegible] industry. Pittsburgh, already a flourishing center

was eager to challenge British and Swedish iron suppliers. The tariff enacted in 1816 imposed duties high enough to give manufacturers real protection. In addition, a national system of roads and canals was being earnestly advocated by those who pointed out that better transportation would bind more closely east and west.

The position of the federal government at this time was greatly strengthened by declarations of the Supreme Court. A convinced Federalist, John Marshall of Virginia, was made Chief Justice in 1801 and held that office until his death in 1835. The court—weak before his administration—was transformed into a powerful tribunal, occupying a position as important as that of Congress or the President. In a succession of historic decisions, Marshall never deviated from one cardinal principle: upholding the sovereignty of the federal government.

Marshall was not only a great judge but also a great constitutional statesman. When he finished his long service, he had decided nearly 50 cases clearly involving constitutional issues.

In one of the most famous of his opinions—Marbury vs. Madison (1803)—he decisively established the right of the Supreme Court to review any law of Congress or of a state legislature. Again, in McCulloch vs. Maryland (1819) dealing with the old question of the implied powers of the government under the Constitution, he stood boldly in defense of the Hamiltonian theory that the Constitution by implication gives the government powers beyond those expressly stated. By such decisions, Marshall did as much as any leader to make America's central government an effective force.

LITERATURE AND THE FRONTIER

Stirrings of national consciousness appeared more and more strongly with the emergence of a truly American literature. Foremost among the writers of this new American school were Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper. Irving's humorous *History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker*, published in 1809, drew its inspiration wholly from the local American scene. Some of Irving's best work, such as the story of "Rip Van Winkle," is set in the Hudson River Valley of New York and reveals America as a land of legend and romance.

Similarly, Cooper's talent found expression through indig-

enous materials. After attempting a novel of the conventional English type, he published *The Spy*, a tale of the Revolution which won immediate popularity. Next came *The Pioneers*, a vivid prose picture of the simple life of the American frontier. In the *Leather-stocking Tales*, a series of novels published between 1823 and 1841, Cooper made a pioneer, Natty Bumppo, and a silent-footed Indian chief, Chingachgook, permanent figures in world literature. Cooper's tales of the sea were also products of American influences.

A significant literary event in America was the founding in 1815 of *The North American Review*, ably edited by Jared Sparks. The *Review* drew enough contributions and support from the young intellectuals of New England to give it an enduring place in the nation's developing culture.

A force that did much to shape American literature—and, more importantly, American life—was the frontier. Conditions along the entire Atlantic seaboard stimulated migration to the newer regions. From New England, whose soil was incapable of producing grain competitively with the cheap and fertile western lands, came a steady stream of men and women who left their coastal farms and villages to take advantage of the rich interior of the continent.

In the back settlements of the Carolinas and Virginia, people handicapped by the lack of roads and canals giving access to coastal markets, and suffering from the political dominance of the tide-water planters, also moved westward. This movement profoundly affected the American scene: it encouraged individual initiative; it fostered political and economic democracy; it roughened manners; it broke down conservatism; and it bred a spirit of local self-determination, coupled with respect for national authority.

With the passing years, the westward migration moved beyond the headwaters of the coastal rivers, and over the Appalachians. By 1800, the Mississippi and Ohio valleys were becoming a great frontier region. "Hi-o, away we go, floating down the river on the O-hi-o," became the song of thousands of migrants.

The westward flow of population in the early 19th century led to the division of old territories and the drawing of new boundaries. Then, as new states were admitted, the political map was stabilized east of the Mississippi. Within a half-dozen years, six states were created—Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and M

in 1821. The first frontier had been tied closely to Europe, the second to the coastal settlements, but the Mississippi Valley was independent and its people looked west rather than east.

Frontier settlers were a varied group. In the van were the hunters and trappers, described by an English traveler named Fordham as "a daring, hardy race of men, who live in miserable cabins. . . . They are unpolished but hospitable, kind to strangers, honest and trustworthy. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs and sometimes have a cow or two. . . . But the rifle is their principal means of support." Dexterous with the axe, snare, and fishing line, these men blazed the trails, built the first log cabins, and held back the Indians.

As more and more settlers penetrated the wilderness, many became farmers as well as hunters. A comfortable log house with glass windows, a good chimney, and partitioned rooms replaced the cabin; the well replaced the spring. An industrious man would rapidly clear his land of timber, burning the wood for potash and letting the stumps decay. He grew his own grain, vegetables, and fruit; ranged the woods for venison, wild turkeys, and honey; fished the nearby streams; looked after his cattle and hogs. The more restless bought large tracts of the cheap land and, as land values rose, sold their holdings and moved still farther west, making way for others.

Farmers were soon followed by doctors, lawyers, storekeepers, editors, preachers, mechanics, politicians—all those who make up a vigorous society. The farmers were the sturdy base. Where they settled, they intended to stay and hoped their children would stay after them. They built large barns and sound brick or frame houses. They brought improved livestock, plowed the land skillfully, and sowed productive seed. Some erected flour mills, sawmills, distilleries. They laid out good highways, built churches and schools. Almost incredible transformations were accomplished in a few years. Thus, in 1830, Chicago was merely an unpromising trading village with a fort, but long before some of its original settlers died, it had become one of the largest and richest cities in the nation.

Many strains were mingled in the new west: Scotch-Irish, Pennsylvania Germans, New Englanders, and men of other origins. By 1830, more than half the people living in America had been brought up in an environment in which Old World traditions and conventions were absent or very weak.

In the west, men were valued not for family background, inherited money, or years of schooling, but for what they were and could do. Farms were easy to acquire; government land after 1820 could be bought for $1.25 an acre (0.4 hectare) and after 1862 could be claimed by merely occupying and improving it. In addition, tools for working the land were easily available. It was a time when, as the journalist Horace Greeley said, young men could "go west and grow up with the country." As they went west, the New England and southern emigrants carried with them many of the ideals and institutions of the regions from which they came.

COTTON PROMOTES SLAVERY

Slavery, which had up to now received little public attention, suddenly assumed enormous importance—"like a fire bell in the night," in Jefferson's words. In the early years of the republic, when the northern states were providing for immediate or gradual emancipation of the slaves, many leaders had supposed that slavery would die out. In 1786, Washington wrote that he devoutly wished some plan might be adopted "by which slavery may be abolished by slow, sure, and imperceptible degrees." Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and other leading southern statesmen made similar statements. As late as 1808, when the slave trade was abolished, there were many southerners who thought that slavery would soon end.

The expectation proved false, for during the next generation, the south became solidly united behind the institution of slavery as new economic factors made slavery far more profitable than it had been before 1790.

Chief among these was the rise of a great cotton-growing industry in the south, stimulated by the introduction of new types of cotton and by Eli Whitney's invention, the cotton gin, for separating the seeds from cotton. At the same time, the Industrial Revolution, which made textile manufacturing a large-scale operation, vastly increased the demand for raw cotton. And the opening of new lands in the west after 1812 greatly extended the area available for cotton cultivation. Cotton culture moved rapidly from the tidewater states through much of the lower south to the Mississippi River and eventually on to Texas.

Sugar growing also expanded and extended slavery. The

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rich, hot lands of southeastern Louisiana had proved ideal for growing profitable sugar-cane crops. By 1830, the state was supplying the nation with about half its sugar supply. Finally, tobacco growing moved westward, taking slavery with it.

As the free society of the north and the slave society of the south spread westward, it seemed politically expedient to maintain a rough equality between the new states then being established. In 1818, when Illinois was admitted to the Union, 10 states permitted slavery and 11 free states prohibited it, but balance was restored after Alabama was admitted as a slave state.

When northerners rallied to oppose the entry of Missouri except as a free state, a storm of protest swept the country. For a time, Congress was at a deadlock. Under the leadership of Henry Clay, a compromise was arranged: Missouri was admitted as a slave state, but at the same time Maine came in as a free state. Congress also decreed that slavery should be forever excluded from the territory acquired by the Louisiana Purchase north of Missouri's southern boundary.

Except for a migration into Texas beyond the bounds of the United States, the westward march of the agricultural frontier did not pass Missouri until after 1840. In the meantime, the far west had become a field of great activity in the fur trade, which was to have significance far beyond the value of the skins. As in the first days of French exploration in the Mississippi Valley—indeed as in the first steps the English and Dutch took westward from the Atlantic coast—the trader was pathfinder for the settlers. The French and Scotch-Irish trappers, exploring the great rivers and their tributaries and discovering all the passes of the Rockies and the Sierra Mountains, made possible the overland migration of the 1840's and the later occupation of the interior. And in 1819, in return for assuming the claims of American citizens to the amount of $5 million, the United States obtained from Spain both Florida and Spain's rights to the Oregon country in the far west.

In 1817, James Madison was succeeded in the Presidency by James Monroe. The distinguishing event of the new administration was the enunciation of the so-called Monroe Doctrine.

The basic elements of the doctrine, taken separately, were all well-recognized American principles. Washington, Jefferson, and Madison had all advised against involvement in permanent or "entangling" alliances abroad. Jefferson had proclaimed the paramount interest of the United States in the fate of neighboring

territories when he protested against the transfer of Louisiana by Spain to any power other than the United States. And the principle of self-determination had been expressed by the people of the United States in their sympathy for the inhabitants of the Spanish-American colonies then struggling for independence.

LATIN AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The vision of liberty had stirred the people of Latin America from the time the English colonies had gained their freedom. Before 1821, Argentina and Chile had established their independence, and in 1822, led by José de San Martín and Simón Bolivar, other South American states won freedom. By 1824, European colonies remained only in the West Indies and on the northern coast of South America.

The people of the United States took a deep interest in what seemed a repetition of their own experience in breaking away from European rule. In 1822, President Monroe, under powerful popular pressure, received authority to recognize the new countries —among them, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, and Brazil—and soon exchanged ministers with them, thus recognizing these countries as self-sustaining, genuinely independent, and entirely separated from their former European connections.

At just this point a number of central European powers formed an association commonly called the Holy Alliance, to protect themselves against revolution. By intervening in countries where popular movements threatened the thrones of monarchs, the Alliance hoped to prevent the spread of revolution into their own dominions. This policy was the antithesis of the American principle of self-determination.

U.S. OPPOSES EUROPE'S THREATS

When the Alliance turned its attention to Spain and her colonies in the New World, it severely shook the confidence of the United States in the permanence of the new South American governments. To the United States Government, which for years had practiced the policy of aloofness laid down by Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, John Adams, and others, this appeared to be a flagrant attempt on the part of European powers to occupy the territories that had freed themselves from their former overlords.

On December 2, 1823, Monroe delivered to Congress his annual message, several passages of which constitute the Monroe Doctrine: (1) "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." (2) "The political system of the allied powers is essentially different...from that of America....We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." (3) "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere." (4) "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so."

While the Monroe Doctrine was clarifying American policy in world affairs, domestic interest was centered on the coming presidential campaign. A close contest among five candidates, including Andrew Jackson, the hero of the Battle of New Orleans, resulted in the election of John Quincy Adams, the son of John Adams, second President of the United States.

During the administration of John Quincy Adams, new party alignments were formed. Adams' followers took the name of "National Republicans," later to be changed to "Whigs." Though he governed honestly and efficiently, Adams was not a popular President, and his administration was marked with frustrations: among other things, he was thwarted in his effort to institute a national system of roads and canals. His years in office appeared to be one long campaign for reelection, and his coldly intellectual temperament did not win friends. Jackson, on the contrary, had enormous popular appeal, especially among his followers in the new Democratic Party; and, in the election of 1828, the Jacksonian forces overwhelmed Adams and his supporters.

The self-reliant backwoodsmen who had built the commonwealths west of the Alleghenies had written into their constitutions the democratic ideas of the frontier. By 1828, their philosophy had enfranchised masses of people in most of the older states. Since the war of 1812, the west had held the balance of power in the Union. Now, as the west came of age, the political center of gravity, like the center of population, had left the seaboard, and helped to place a favorite son of Tennessee in the Chief Executive's chair.

JACKSON A STRONG PRESIDENT

Toward the end of his first term in office, Jackson was forced to come to grips with the state of South Carolina on the issue of the protective tariff. Businessmen in the state had hoped that Jackson would use his presidential power to modify tariff laws they had long opposed. In their view, all the benefits of protection were going to northern manufacturers, and while the country as a whole grew richer, South Carolina grew poorer, with its planters bearing the burden of higher prices. Nevertheless, when Congress enacted a new tariff law in 1832, Jackson signed it without hesitation.

South Carolina then organized a "States' Rights Party," endorsing the principle, called "nullification," that a delegate convention within a state could declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and null and void within its borders. South Carolina even threatened to secede from the Union if the Congress passed any law to use force against it.

In response to this threat, Jackson, in November 1832, sent seven small naval vessels and a man-of-war to Charleston with orders to be ready for instant action. On December 10, he issued a resounding proclamation against the nullifiers. South Carolina, the President declared, stood on "the brink of insurrection and treason," and he appealed to the people of the state to reassert their allegiance to that Union for which their ancestors had fought.

UNION PRINCIPLE TRIUMPHS

When the question of tariff duties again came before Congress, it soon became clear that only one man, Senator Henry Clay, the great advocate of protection, could pilot a compromise measure through. Clay's tariff bill—quickly passed in 1833—specified that all duties in excess of 20 per cent of the value of the goods imported were to be reduced by easy stages, so that, by 1842, the duties on all articles would reach the level of the moderate tariff of 1816.

Nullification leaders in South Carolina had expected the support of other southern states, but without exception, these had declared South Carolina's course unwise and unconstitutional, and eventually South Carolina rescinded its action. Both sides claimed victory. Jackson had committed the federal government unquali-

fiedly to the principle of Union supremacy. But South Carolina, by its show of resistance, had obtained many of the demands it sought and had demonstrated that a single state could force its will on Congress.

Even before the nullification issue had been settled, another controversy occurred that challenged Jackson's leadership. It concerned the rechartering of the second Bank of the United States. The first Bank had been established in 1791, under Hamilton's guidance, and had been chartered for a 20-year period. Though the government held some of its stock, this was not a government bank. It was a private corporation with profits passing to its stockholders. It had been designed to stabilize the currency and stimulate trade, but it was resented by some people who felt that the government was granting special favors to a few powerful men. When its charter expired in 1811, it was not renewed.

For the next few years, the banking business was in the hands of state-chartered banks, which created great confusion by issuing currency in amounts beyond their ability to redeem. It became increasingly clear that state banks could not provide the country with a uniform currency, and in 1816, a second Bank of the United States, similar to the first, was chartered for 20 years.

From its inception, the second bank was unpopular in the newer parts of the country and with less prosperous people everywhere. Opponents claimed the bank possessed a virtual monopoly over the country's credit and currency and represented the interests of the wealthy few. On the whole, the bank was well managed and rendered valuable service, but Jackson, elected as a popular champion against it, sternly vetoed a bill for its recharter. He questioned both its constitutionality and the desirability of its continued existence.

In the election campaign that followed, the bank question—causing a fundamental division between the merchant, manufacturing, and financial classes, on the one hand, and the laboring and agrarian elements on the other—was the main issue. The outcome was an enthusiastic endorsement of "Jacksonism."

Jackson saw his reelection as a popular mandate to crush the bank irrevocably. Finding a ready made weapon in a provision of the bank's charter authorizing removal of public funds, he ordered, late in September 1833, that no more government money be deposited in the United States Bank and that the money already in its custody be gradually withdrawn in the

ordinary course of meeting the expenses of government. Carefully selected state banks, stringently restricted, were provided as a substitute.

Jackson often displayed the same resourcefulness in his conduct of foreign affairs. When France suspended payment of certain obligations to the United States, he recommended the seizure of French property and brought her to terms. But when Texas revolted against Mexico and appealed to the United States for annexation, he diplomatically temporized.

Since Jackson's political opponents had no hope of success so long as they remained at cross purposes, they attempted to bring all the dissatisfied elements together under a common party name—Whig. But although they organized soon after the election campaign of 1832, it was more than a decade before they reconciled their differences and were able to draw up a platform. Largely through the magnetism of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, the Whigs' noblest and most brilliant statesmen, the party solidified its membership. But in the 1836 election, the Whigs were still too divided to unite upon a single man or a common platform. Martin Van Buren, supported by Jackson, won the contest.

As for Van Buren, the economic depression that accompanied his term, and the picturesque personality of his predecessor obscured his merits. Van Buren's public acts—like the 10-hour day for government workers—aroused no enthusiasm, for he lacked the compelling qualities of leadership and the dramatic flair that had attended Jackson's every move. The election of 1840 found the country afflicted with hard times and low wages, and the Democrats were on the defensive.

The Whig candidate for President, William Henry Harrison of Ohio, vastly popular as the hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe in the War of 1812, was regarded, like Jackson, as a representative of the democratic west. With John Tyler, whose views on states' rights and a low tariff were popular in the south, as his vice-presidential candidate, Harrison won a sweeping victory.

Within a month of his inauguration, 68-year-old Harrison died, and Tyler became President. Tyler's beliefs differed sharply from those of Clay and Webster, still the most influential men in the country, and before his term was over, these differences had led to an open break and the President was repudiated by the party that had elected him.

POLITICAL FERMENT STIRS THE NATION

In 1829, when Jackson became President, a current of unrest and revolt was coursing through the entire western world. The reform spirit in America, though it had its own sources of support, was thoroughly in harmony with this upsurge. The democratic upheaval in politics exemplified by Jackson's election was merely one phase of the common man's advance toward larger rights and opportunities.

Accompanying the liberal political movement was the beginning of labor organization. In 1835, labor forces in Philadelphia succeeded in reducing the old "dark to dark" work day to a 10-hour day. This marked the beginning of similar reforms in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Ohio, and the new state of California, admitted to the Union in 1850.

Labor's zeal for humanitarian reform was an essential element in all the progressive movements of the time, and particularly in the struggle for democracy in education. The spread of suffrage had already led to a new concept of education, for clear-sighted statesmen everywhere perceived the danger of universal suffrage among an untutored, even illiterate electorate. These men—De Witt Clinton in New York, Abraham Lincoln in Illinois, Horace Mann in Massachusetts—were now supported by organized labor, whose leaders demanded free, tax-supported schools open to all children without taint of charity. Gradually, in one state after another, legislative enactment provided for such free instruction. The public-school system became common throughout the northern part of the country. In other parts of the nation, however, the battle for public education would continue for years.

The reforms that freed men from most of their ancient fetters awakened women to a realization of their unequal position in society. From colonial times, the unmarried woman had enjoyed many of the same legal rights as men, but custom required that she marry early, and with matrimony she virtually lost her separate identity in the eyes of the law. Women were not permitted to vote and their education was limited largely to reading, writing, music, dancing, needlework.

The awakening of women began with the visit to America of Frances Wright, a Scotswoman of advanced views. Her public lectures on theology and women's rights shocked many people. But her example soon stirred to action such great figures in the

American feminist movement as Lucretia Mott, a Philadelphia Quaker, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who braved the contempt of men and of most women by devoting their energies publicly to feminism, antislavery, and labor reform.

The feminist leaders were not altogether without friends. Prominent men like Ralph Waldo Emerson, Abraham Lincoln, and Horace Greeley worked and lectured in their behalf. Although the period was one of agitation rather than reform, definite improvements were brought about. In 1820 Emma Willard opened a seminary for girls; in 1837, Mount Holyoke, a women's institution of college rank, was established. Even more venturesome was coeducation, in which the lead was taken by three Ohio colleges—Oberlin in 1833, Urbana in 1850, and Antioch in 1853.

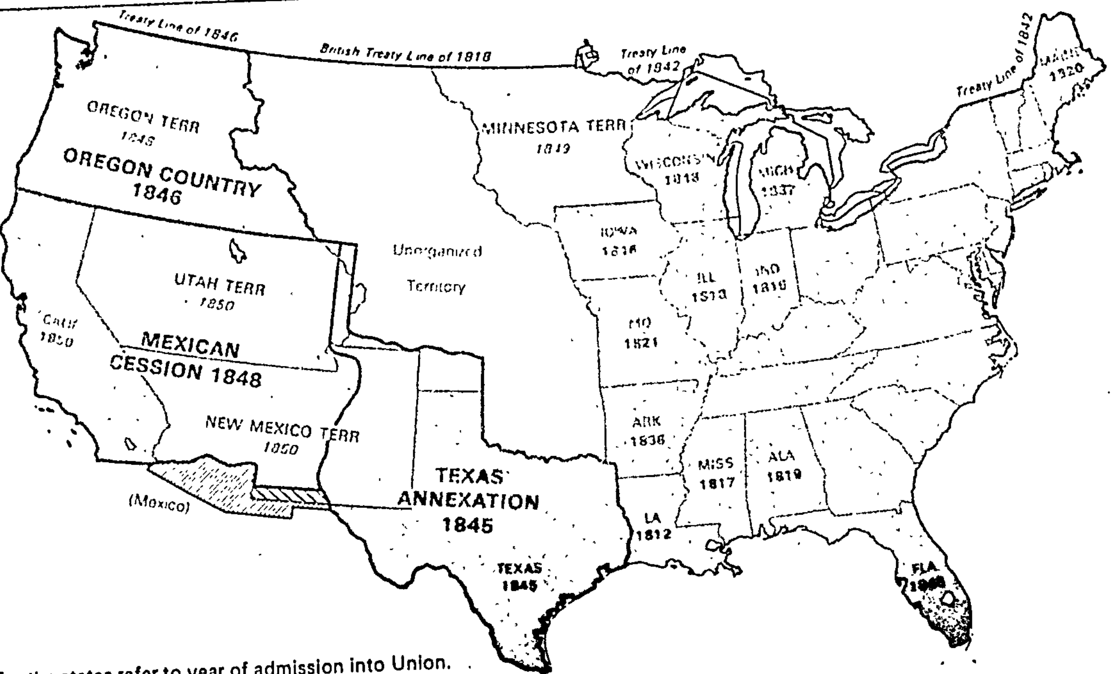
Meanwhile, in 1848, a women's rights convention, the first in the history of the world, was held at Seneca Falls, New York. Here delegates drew up a declaration demanding equality with the male sex before the law, in educational and economic opportunities, and in voting.

CULTURE AND INDUSTRY SHOW NEW VIGOR

In these years, the spirit of national self-confidence was finding expression in a great outpouring of literature. Poets Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and James Russell Lowell began their careers in the 1830s. Philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson preached individualism and the nobility of man in vigorous verse and prose. Fiction writers Nathaniel Hawthorne and Edgar Allan Poe exemplified the versatility of American thinking by writing of the somber and supernatural in man's experience.

Although most of these men derived their enduring fame from their writings, many of them took an active interest in the humanitarian and political struggles of the age. Whittier was preeminently the poet laureate of the antislavery crusade. Longfellow published his *Poems on Slavery* in 1842. Lowell acted as editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman.* William Cullen Bryant's brilliant poetic career was coupled with his distinguished editorship of the *New York Evening Post* from 1829 to 1878.

The trend of the times awakened a new interest in the history of the Republic and marked the beginning of historical scholarship. In the 1830s, Jared Sparks, who years before had begun



1850

Dates for the states refer to year of admission into Union.
Florida ceded by Spain in 1819.
Texas was independent republic, 1836-1845.
Title to Oregon Country established by treaty with Great Britain.
Western area of Texas purchased from Mexico in 1850.

Source: U.S. Geological Survey

North American Review, took up the task of editing historical documents, including the writings of Washington and Franklin and the diplomatic correspondence of the Revolution. In 1834, George Bancroft published the first volume of a history of the United States, from the earliest discoveries to the adoption of the Constitution.

In day-by-day living, the welfare of the people was visibly improving. After 1825, the threshing machine began to supplant the flail and the roller; shortly after, the mower and the reaper were invented. The difficulty of maintaining a united nation in the face of rapid geographical expansion was somewhat eased by the steady extension of railways. By 1850, only 20 years after the first horse-drawn public carrier, one could travel by rail from Maine to North Carolina, from the Atlantic seaboard to Buffalo on Lake Erie, and from the western end of Lake Erie to Chicago or Cincinnati. The electric telegraph, invented in 1835 by Samuel F. B. Morse, was first used in 1844. The rotary printing press, devised by Richard Howe in 1847, revolutionized publishing processes and played a major part in giving newspapers their commanding position in American life.

Indicative of the growth of the nation from 1812 to 1852 was the rise in population from approximately 7,250,000 to more than 23 million. During this period, the land available for settlement increased to almost the size of the European continent—from 4,420,000 to 7,800,000 square kilometers. In addition to a flourishing agriculture, various industries were developing rapidly, not only on the eastern seaboard but also in the fast-growing cities of the west. The durability of the nation and the vitality of its economy and institutions were established. Still unresolved, however, were the basic conflicts rooted in sectional differences, which, within the next decade, were destined to flare into civil war.

CHAPTER 5

SECTIONAL CONFLICT

"*'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free.*"

Abraham Lincoln
Springfield, Illinois, June 17, 1858

In the middle decades of the 19th century no country in the world was more interesting to other nations than the United States, and few attracted more distinguished visitors. One of these was the French political writer Alexis de Tocqueville, whose book *Democracy in America,* first published in 1835, won a cordial reception on the European continent. The verdict on the new country became more and more favorable. Travelers arrived to find the bay and city of Boston beautiful; to marvel at the way in which "one flourishing town after another, such as Utica, Syracuse, and Auburn," had risen from the wilderness; to find, as they traversed the northern states, "everywhere the most unequivocal proofs of prosperity and rapid progress in agriculture, commerce, and great public works."

The national territory now stretched over forest, plain, and mountain. Within these far-flung limits dwelt 23 million people in a Union comprising 31 states. The land of promise had never before seemed so truly the land of performance. In the east, industry boomed. In the midwest and the south, agriculture flourished. The railways knitted the settled parts of the country together, and the mines of California poured a golden stream into the channels of trade.

Yet visitors quickly found that there were really two Americas—a north and a south. And the speed of progress itself held latent dangers for the maintenance of sectional harmony. New England and the middle Atlantic states were the main centers of

manufacturing, commerce, and finance. Principal products of the area were textiles, lumber, clothing, machinery, leather, and woolen goods. At the same time, shipping had reached the height of its prosperity, and vessels flying the American flag plied the seven seas, distributing wares of all nations.

In the south, the chief source of wealth was the cotton crop, although there was rice culture along the coast, sugar growing in Louisiana, tobacco raising and general farming in the border states, and scattered manufacturing. With the fuller development of the rich, black lands of the Gulf plains, cotton production nearly doubled during the 1850s, and wagon, barge, and railroad carried the bales to markets in both the north and south. Cotton furnished raw material for northern textile mills and more than half the nation's foreign exports as well.

The midwest, with its boundless prairies and swiftly growing population, shared fully in the good times. Its wheat and meat products were in demand by both Europe and the older settled parts of America. The introduction of labor-saving implements—notably the McCormick reaper—made possible an unparalleled increase in farm production. Some 500 reapers were used in the harvest of 1848 and over 100,000 in 1860. The nation's wheat crops meanwhile swelled from some 35 million hectoliters in 1850 to nearly 61 million in 1860, more than half being grown in the midwest.

An important stimulus to western prosperity was the great improvement in transportation facilities; from 1850 to 1857 the Appalachian Mountain barrier was pierced by five railway trunk lines. In the expansion of the railway network, the south at first had much less part, and it was not until late in the 1850s that a continuous line through the mountains connected the lower Mississippi River with the southern Atlantic seaboard.

SLAVERY HARDENS INTO THE ECONOMY

Conflicting interests in north and south became increasingly apparent. Resenting the large profits amassed by northern businessmen from marketing the cotton crop, southerners attributed the backwardness of their own section to northern aggrandizement. Northerners, on the other hand, declared that slavery—the "peculiar institution" the south felt to be essential to its economy—was wholly responsible for the region's relative backwardn

As far back as 1830, sectional lines had been steadily hardening on the slavery question. In the north, abolitionist feeling grew more and more powerful, abetted by a free-soil movement vigorously opposed to the extension of slavery into the regions not yet organized as states. To southerners of 1850, slavery was a condition for which they were no more responsible than for their English speech or their representative institutions. In some seaboard areas, slavery by 1850 was well over 200 years old, an integral part of the basic economy of the region. In 15 southern and border states, the Negro population was approximately half as large as the white, while in the north it was an insignificant fraction.

From the middle 1840s, the slavery issue overshadowed all else in American politics. The south, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River and beyond, was a relatively compact political unit agreeing on all fundamental policies affecting cotton culture and slavery. The majority of southern planters came to regard slavery as necessary and permanent. Cotton culture, using only primitive implements, was singularly adapted to the employment of slaves. It provided work nine months of the year and permitted the use of women and children as well as men.

DEBATE OVER SLAVERY MOUNTS

Political leaders of the south, the professional classes, and most of the clergy, as they fought the weight of northern opinion, now no longer apologized for slavery but became its ardent champions. It was held to shower benefits upon the Negro, and southern publicists insisted that the relations of capital and labor were more humane under the slavery system than under the wage system of the north.

Before 1830, the old patriarchal system of plantation government, with its easygoing methods of management and personal supervision of the slaves by their master, was still characteristic. After 1830, however, with the introduction of large-scale cotton production in the lower south, the master gradually ceased to exercise close personal supervision over his slaves and employed professional overseers whose tenure depended upon their ability to exact from slaves a maximum amount of work.

While many planters continued to treat their Negroes kindly, there were instances of heartless cruelty, especially those involv-

ing the breaking of family ties. The most trenchant criticism of slavery, however, was not the inhumanity of overseers, but the violation of every man's basic right to be free.

Cotton culture and its labor system came to represent a vast investment of capital in the south. From a crop of negligible importance, cotton production in 1800 leaped to about 16 million kilograms, rose to 72 million kilograms in 1820, and, by 1840, reached a total of more than 301,500,000 kilograms. By 1850, seven-eighths of the world's supply of cotton was grown in the American south.

Slavery increased concomitantly, and in national politics southerners chiefly sought protection and enlargement of the interests represented by the cotton-slavery system. Expansion was considered a necessity because the wastefulness of cultivating a single crop, cotton, rapidly exhausted the land, and new fertile areas were needed. Further, in the interest of political power, the south needed new territory for additional slave states to offset the admission of new free states. Antislavery northerners saw in the southern view a conspiracy for proslavery aggrandizement, and in the 1830s their opposition became militant.

An earlier antislavery movement, an offshoot of the American Revolution, had won its last victory in 1808 when Congress abolished the slave trade with Africa. After that, opposition was largely by the Quakers, who kept up a mild and ineffectual protest, while the cotton gin was creating an increasing demand for slaves. The 1820s saw a new phase of agitation which owed much to the dynamic democratic idealism of the times and to the new interest in social justice for all classes.

In its more extreme form the abolitionist movement in America was combative, uncompromising, and insistent upon an immediate end to slavery. This extremist approach found a leader in William Lloyd Garrison, a young man of Massachusetts, who combined the heroism of a martyr with the crusading zeal of a demagogue.

On January 1, 1831, Garrison produced the first issue of his newspaper, *The Liberator,* bearing the announcement: "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population.... On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation.... I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*"

Garrison's sensational methods awakened northerners to the evil in an institution many had long come to regard as unchangeable. His policy was to hold up to public gaze the most repulsive aspects of Negro slavery and to castigate slaveholders as torturers and traffickers in human life. He would recognize no rights of the masters, acknowledge no compromise, tolerate no delay. Less violently inclined northerners, unwilling to subscribe to his law-defying tactics, held that reform should be accomplished by legal and peaceful means.

One phase of the antislavery movement involved helping slaves escape to safe refuges in the north or over the border into Canada. Known as the "Underground Railroad," an elaborate network of secret routes was firmly established in the 1830s in all parts of the north. Its most successful operation was in the old Northwest Territory. In Ohio alone, it is estimated that from 1830 to 1860 no fewer than 40,000 fugitive slaves were helped to freedom. The number of local antislavery societies increased at such a rate that in 1840 there were about 2,000, with a membership of perhaps 200,000.

Despite the efforts of active abolitionists to make slavery a question of conscience, the people of the north as a whole held aloof from the antislavery movement. Busy with their own concerns, they considered slavery a problem for southerners to solve through state action. In their view, the unbridled agitation of the antislavery zealots was a threat to the integrity of the Union itself.

In 1845, however, the acquisition of Texas—and, soon after, the territorial gains in the southwest resulting from the Mexican War—converted the moral question of slavery into a burning political issue. Up to then, it had seemed likely that slavery would be confined to the areas where it already existed. It had been given limits by the Missouri Compromise in 1820 and had had no opportunity to overstep them. The new territories made renewed expansion of slavery a real likelihood.

Many northerners believed that, if kept within close bounds, slavery would ultimately diminish and die. To justify their opposition to adding new slave states, they pointed to the statements of Washington and Jefferson and to the Ordinance of 1787, which forbade the extension of slavery into the northwest. As Texas already had slavery, she naturally entered the Union as a slave state. But California, New Mexico, and Utah did not have slavery, and

when the United States prepared to take over these areas in 1846, there were conflicting suggestions on what to do with them.

Extremists in the south urged that all the lands acquired from Mexico be thrown open to slaveholders. Strong antislavery northerners demanded that all the new regions be closed to slavery. One group of moderates suggested that the Missouri Compromise line be extended to the Pacific with free states north of it and slave states to the south. Another group proposed that the question be left to "popular sovereignty"—that is, the government should permit settlers to flock into the new territory with or without slaves as they pleased and, when the time came to organize the region into states, the people themselves should determine the question.

Southern opinion held that slavery had a right to exist in all the territories. The north asserted that it had a right in none. In 1848, nearly 300,000 men voted for the candidates of a Free Soil Party, which declared that the best policy was "to limit, localize, and discourage slavery."

In January 1848, the discovery of gold in California precipitated a headlong rush of more than 80,000 immigrants for the single year 1849. California became a crucial question, for clearly Congress had to determine the status of this new region before an organized government could be established. The hopes of the nation rested with Senator Henry Clay, who twice before in times of crisis had come forward with compromise arrangements. Now once again he halted a dangerous sectional quarrel with a well-wrought plan.

His compromise (as subsequently modified in Congress) proposed, among other things, that California be admitted as a state with a free-soil (slavery-prohibited) constitution while the remainder of the new annexation be divided into the two territories of New Mexico and Utah and organized without mention of slavery; that the claims of Texas to a portion of New Mexico be satisfied by a payment of $10 million; that more effective machinery be established for catching runaway slaves and returning them to their masters; and that the buying and selling of slaves (but not slavery) be abolished in the District of Columbia. These measures—famous in American history as the "Compromise of 1850" —were passed, and the country breathed a sigh of relief.

For three years, the compromise seemed to settle nearly all differences. Beneath the surface, however, the tension grew. The

new Fugitive Slave Law deeply offended many northerners, who refused to have any part in catching slaves. Instead, they continued to help fugitives to escape, and made the Underground Railroad more efficient and more daring than it had been before.

CIVIL CONFLICT DRAWS NEARER

Those who thought the slavery problem would solve itself were reckoning only with politicians and editors. Time proved that a single book, published in 1852, would exert a far greater influence than legislators or the press: *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* by Harriet Beecher Stowe.

When Mrs. Stowe began writing her book, she thought of it as only a minor sketch, but it widened in scope as the work progressed. Immediately upon its publication, it caused a sensation. More than 300,000 copies were sold the first year, and eight power presses ran day and night to keep up with the demand. It was soon translated into many languages.

The novel showed how inseparable cruelty was from the institution of slavery and how fundamentally irreconcilable were free and slave societies. The rising generation of voters in the north was deeply stirred by it. It inspired widespread enthusiasm for the antislavery cause, among young and old, appealing as it did to basic human emotions—indignation at injustice and pity for the helpless individuals exposed to ruthless exploitation.

In 1854, the old issue of slavery in the territories was renewed and the quarrel became more bitter. The region that now comprises Kansas and Nebraska was already attracting settlers, and, with a stable government instituted, it promised rapid development.

THE SPLIT GROWS DEEPER

Under the Missouri Compromise, all this region was closed to slavery. However, dominant slave-holding elements in Missouri objected to letting Kansas, which adjoined her on the west, become a free territory. For Missouri would then have three free neighbors and, yielding to an already strong movement, would probably soon be forced to become a free state herself. For a time, Missourians in Congress, backed by southerners, blocked all efforts to organize the region.

At this point, Stephen A. Douglas, senior Senator from Illinois, stirred up a storm by proposing a bill that enraged all free-soil men. Douglas argued that since the Compromise of 1850 left Utah and New Mexico free to decide on slavery for themselves, the Missouri Compromise had long been superseded. His plan called for two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and permitted settlers to carry slaves into them. The inhabitants themselves were to determine whether they should enter the Union as free or slave states.

Northerners accused Douglas of currying favor with the south in order to gain the Presidency in 1856. Angry debates marked the progress of the bill. The free-soil press violently denounced it. Northern clergymen assailed it. Businessmen who had hitherto befriended the south turned suddenly about-face. Yet, on a May morning, the bill passed the Senate amid the boom of cannon fired by southern enthusiasts. At the time, Salmon P. Chase, an antislavery leader, prophesied: "They celebrate a present victory, but the echoes they awaken shall never rest until slavery itself shall die." When Douglas subsequently visited Chicago to speak in his own defense, the ships in the harbor lowered their flags to half-mast, the church bells tolled for an hour, and a crowd of 10,000 hooted so that he could not make himself heard.

The immediate results of Douglas' ill-starred measure were momentous. The Whig Party, which had straddled the question of slavery expansion, sank to its death, and in its stead a powerful new organization arose, the Republican Party, whose primary demand was that slavery be excluded from all the territories. In 1856, it nominated for the Presidency John Frémont, whose five exploring expeditions into the far west had won him renown. Although it lost the election, the new party swept a great part of the north. Such free-soil leaders as Chase and William Seward exerted greater influence than ever. Along with them appeared a tall, lanky Illinois attorney, Abraham Lincoln.

The flow of both southern slaveholders and antislavery men into Kansas resulted in armed conflict, and soon the territory was being called "bleeding Kansas." Other events brought the nation still closer to upheaval: notably, in 1857, the Supreme Court's famous decision concerning Dred Scott.

Scott was a Missouri slave who, some 20 years before, had been taken by his master to live in Illinois and Wisconsin, ter-

ritory where slavery was forbidden. Returning to Missouri and becoming discontented with his life there, Scott sued for liberation on the ground of his residence on free soil. The southern-dominated Court decided that by voluntarily returning to a slave state, Scott had lost the right to be free and ruled that any attempt by Congress to prohibit slavery in the territory was invalid.

The Dred Scott decision stirred fierce excitement throughout the north. Never before had the Court been so bitterly condemned. For the southern Democrats, the decision was a great victory, since it gave judicial sanction to their justification of slavery in the territories.

LINCOLN ATTACKS SLAVERY

Abraham Lincoln had long regarded slavery an evil. In a speech in Peoria, Illinois, in 1854, he had declared that all national legislation should be framed on the principle that slavery was to be restricted and eventually abolished. He contended also that the principle of popular sovereignty was false, for slavery in the western territories was the concern not only of the local inhabitants but of the United States as a whole. This speech made him widely known throughout the growing west.

In 1858, Lincoln opposed Stephen A. Douglas for election to the U. S. Senate from Illinois. In the first paragraph of his opening campaign speech, on June 17, Lincoln struck the keynote of American history for the seven years to follow:

" 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

Lincoln and Douglas engaged in a series of seven debates in the ensuing months of 1858. Senator Douglas, a sturdy five-footer known as the "little giant," had an enviable reputation as an orator, but he met his match in Lincoln, who eloquently challenged the concept of popular sovereignty. In the end, although Douglas won the election by a small margin, Lincoln had achieved stature as a national figure.

Sectional strife again became acute. On the night of October 16, 1859, John Brown, an antislavery fanatic, who had struck a bloody blow against slavery in Kansas three years before, with the help of a few abolitionist extremists seized the federal arsenal

at Harper's Ferry in what is now the state of West Virginia. When dawn came, armed citizens of the town, aided by some militia companies, began a counterattack, and Brown and his surviving men were taken prisoner.

Alarm ran through the nation. For many southerners, Brown's attempt confirmed their worst fears. Antislavery zealots, on the other hand, hailed Brown as a martyr to a great cause. Most northerners repudiated his exploit, seeing in it an assault on law and order and on democratic methods of obtaining social progress. Brown was tried for conspiracy, treason, and murder, and on December 2, 1859, he was hanged. To the end, he believed he had been an instrument in the hand of God.

In the presidential election of 1860 the Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln as its candidate. Party spirit soared as leaders declared that slavery could spread no further. The party also promised a tariff for the protection of industry and pledged the enactment of a law granting free homesteads to settlers who would help in the opening of the west. The disunity of the opposing Democrats, led by Stephen A. Douglas, helped the fledgling Republican Party win the election.

South Carolina's secession from the Union, if Lincoln were elected, was a foregone conclusion for the state had long been waiting for an event that would unite the south against the antislavery forces. Once the election returns were certain, a specially summoned South Carolina convention declared "that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the 'United States of America' is hereby dissolved." Other southern states promptly followed South Carolina's example, and on February 8, 1861, they formed the Confederate States of America.

CIVIL WAR BEGINS

Less than a month later, on March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was sworn in as President of the United States. In his inaugural address, he refused to recognize the secession, considering it "legally void." His speech closed with a plea for restoration of the bonds of union. But the south turned deaf ears, and on April 12, guns opened fire on Fort Sumter in the Charleston, South Carolina, harbor. All hesitation was now swept from the minds of the northerners.

In the seven states that had seceded, the people responded promptly to the appeal of their President, Jefferson Davis. The action of the slave states that thus far had remained loyal was now tensely awaited by both sides. Virginia took the fateful step on April 17, and Arkansas and North Carolina followed quickly. No state left the Union with greater reluctance than Virginia. Her statesmen had had a leading part in the winning of the Revolution and the framing of the Constitution, and she had provided the nation with five Presidents. With Virginia went Colonel Robert E. Lee, who declined the command of the Union army out of loyalty to his state. Between the enlarged Confederacy and the free-soil north lay the border states, which, proving unexpectedly nationalist in spirit, kept their bonds with the Union.

The people of each section entered the war with high hopes for an early victory. In material resources the north enjoyed a decided advantage. Twenty-three states with a population of 22 million were arrayed against 11 inhabited by 9 million. The industrial superiority of the north exceeded even its preponderance in manpower, providing it with abundant facilities for manufacturing arms and ammunition, clothing, and other supplies. Similarly, the network of railways in the north contributed to federal military prospects.

BLOODY BATTLES IN EAST AND WEST

Most of the navy, at the war's beginning, was in Union hands, but it was scattered and weak. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles took prompt measures to strengthen it. Lincoln then proclaimed a blockade of the southern coasts. Although the effect of the blockade was negligible at first, by 1863 it was almost completely preventing shipments of cotton to Europe and the importation of munitions, clothing, and the medical supplies the south sorely needed.

Meanwhile, a brilliant naval commander, David Farragut, had conducted two remarkable operations. In one, he took a Union fleet into the mouth of the Mississippi, where he forced the surrender of the largest city in the south, New Orleans. In another, he made his way past the fortified entrance of Mobile Bay, captured a Confederate ironclad vessel, and sealed up the port.

In the Mississippi Valley, the Union forces won an almost

1861—Outbreak of the Civil War

Dates for the states refer to year of admission into Union.
Heavy crosshatching indicates the 11 Confederate states, 1861-1865.
The northwestern part of Virginia refused to join Confederacy and entered Union as the state of West Virginia.
The Gadsden Purchase from Mexico was the last territorial addition to the conterminous United States.

Source: U.S. Geological Survey

uninterrupted series of victories. They began by breaking a long Confederate line in Tennessee, thus making it possible to occupy almost all the western part of the state. When the important port of Memphis on the Mississippi was taken, Union troops could advance some 320 kilometers into the heart of the Confederacy. With the tenacious General Ulysses S. Grant in command, Union forces made a sudden attack at Shiloh, on the bluffs overlooking the Tennessee River, and held stubbornly until reinforcements helped repulse the Confederates. Grant then pushed slowly but steadily southward, with the paramount object of gaining complete control of the Mississippi, the lower reaches of which had been cleared of Confederates by Farragut's capture of New Orleans.

For a time, Grant was blocked at Vicksburg, where the Confederates had strongly fortified themselves on bluffs too high for naval attack. Then, in 1863, he began to move below and around Vicksburg, subjecting the position to a six-week siege. On July 4, he captured the town, together with the strongest Confederate army in the west. The river was now entirely in Union hands. The Confederacy was broken in two, and it became almost impossible to bring supplies from Texas and Arkansas.

In Virginia, on the other hand, Union troops had met one defeat after another. In a succession of bloody attempts to capture Richmond, the Confederate capital, Union forces were repeatedly thrown back. The Confederates had two great advantages: strong defense positions afforded by numerous streams cutting the road between Washington and Richmond; and two generals, Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, both of whom far surpassed the early Union commanders. One Union general, George McClellan, made a desperate attempt to seize Richmond. But in the Seven Days' Battles of June 25 to July 1, 1862, the Union troops were driven steadily backward, both sides suffering terrible losses.

THE TIDE PEAKS AND EBBS

On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued an Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the rebelling states and inviting them to join the armed forces of the north. The Proclamation thus declared the abolition of slavery an objective of the war in addition to the declared objective of saving the Union.

The north continued to do poorly in the east. The overland advance on Richmond was still thwarted, and in a bloody battle at Chancellorsville, Union forces suffered a severe defeat. This Confederate victory was gained at a high price, however, for it cost the life of Stonewall Jackson.

None of the Confederate victories was decisive. The federal government simply mustered new armies and tried again. July 1863 brought the turning point of the war. Believing that the crushing defeat of the north at Chancellorsville gave him his chance, Lee struck northward into Pennsylvania, almost reaching the state capital. A strong Union force intercepted Lee's march at Gettysburg, where, in a three-day battle, the Confederates made a valiant effort to break the Union lines. They failed, and Lee's veterans, after crippling losses, fell back to the Potomac.

Grant's army was then taking possession of Vicksburg on the Mississippi. The blockade of southern coasts had become an iron cordon that few vessels pierced and the Confederacy was nearing the end of its resources. The northern states, on the other hand, seemed more prosperous than ever; their mills and factories were running full blast; their farms were exporting bumper crops to Europe; their manpower was being restored by immigration.

Grant's slow but inexorable advance on Richmond in 1864 foreshadowed the end. From all sides northern troops closed in, and on February 1, 1865, General Sherman's western army began a march northward from Georgia.

On February 17, the Confederates abandoned Columbia, the South Carolina capital. Without a battle, Charleston fell into the hands of the Union fleet when her railroad connections with the interior were cut. Meanwhile the Confederate positions in Petersburg and Richmond proved untenable, and on April 2 Lee abandoned them. A week later, at Appomatox, Virginia, hemmed in by the enemy, he had no alternative but surrender.

The terms of surrender were magnanimous, and on his return from the conferences, Grant quieted the noisy demonstrations of his soldiers by reminding them, "The rebels are our countrymen again." The war for southern independence had become the "lost cause," whose hero, Robert E. Lee, had won wide admiration through the brilliance of his leadership and his greatness in defeat.

For the north, the war produced a still greater hero in Abraham Lincoln—a man eager, above all else, to weld the Union

together again, not by force and repression but by warmth and generosity. Although he had to use unprecedented powers both in war and in peace, he never infringed upon the principles of democratic self-government. In 1864 he was elected for a second term as President.

"WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE"

Lincoln's second inaugural address closed with these words: "...With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan...to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." Three weeks later, two days after Lee's surrender, Lincoln delivered his last public address, in which he unfolded a generous reconstruction policy.

On Thursday night, April 13, Washington was illuminated to celebrate Lee's surrender, and joyous crowds paraded in the streets. The next day, the President held what was to be his last Cabinet meeting. That evening—with his wife and a young couple who were his guests—he attended a performance at Ford's theater. There, as he sat in the presidential box, he was assassinated by a crazed actor, John Wilkes Booth, who sprang from the box to the stage and fled. Booth was captured some days later in a barn in the Virginia countryside.

Lincoln died in a downstairs bedroom of a house across the street from Ford's on the morning of April 15. Said poet James Russell Lowell: "Never before that startled April morning did such multitudes of men shed tears for the death of one they had never seen, as if with him a friendly presence had been taken from their lives, leaving them colder and darker. Never was funeral panegyric so eloquent as the silent look of sympathy which strangers exchanged when they met that day. Their common manhood had lost a kinsman."

The first great task confronting the victorious north—now under the leadership of Lincoln's Vice President, Andrew Johnson—was to determine the status of the states that had seceded.

Lincoln had already set the stage. In his view, the people of the southern states had never legally seceded; they had been

misled by some disloyal citizens into a defiance of federal authority. And since the war was the act of individuals, the federal government would have to deal with these individuals and not with the states. Thus, in 1863 Lincoln proclaimed that if in any state 10 per cent of the voters of record in 1860 would form a government loyal to the U.S. Constitution and would acknowledge obedience to the laws of the Congress and the proclamation of the President, he would recognize the government so created as the state's legal government.

Congress rejected this plan and challenged Lincoln's right to deal with the matter without consulting its members. Yet even before the war was wholly over, new governments had been set up in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Some members of Congress advocated severe punishment for all the seceded states. One of them, Thaddeus Stevens, leader of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives, even urged that southern planters be kept under military rule for a period of probation.

To deal with one of its major concerns—the condition of the now emancipated Negro—Congress, in March 1865, established the Freedmen's Bureau to act as guardian over Negro citizens and guide them toward self-support. And in December of that year, Congress ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, abolishing slavery.

OPPOSING VIEWS ON RECONSTRUCTION

Throughout the summer of 1865 Johnson had proceeded to carry out Lincoln's reconstruction program, with minor modifications. By presidential proclamation he appointed a governor for each of the seceded states and freely restored political rights to large numbers of southern citizens through use of the presidential pardoning power.

In due time conventions were held in each of the former Confederate states to repeal the ordinances of secession, repudiate the war debt, and draft new state constitutions. Eventually the people of each state elected a governor and a state legislature, and when the legislature of a state ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, the new state government was recognized and the state was back in the Union again.

By the end of 1865, this process, with a few exceptions, was

completed. But the states that had seceded were not yet fully restored to their former positions within the Union because the Congress had not yet seated their U. S. Senators and Representatives, who were now coming to Washington to take their places in the federal legislature.

Both Lincoln and Johnson had foreseen that the Congress would have the right to deny southern legislators seats in the U.S. Senate or House of Representatives, under the clause of the Constitution that says: "Each house shall be the judge of the... qualifications of its own members." This denial came to pass when, under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, those Congressmen who sought to punish the south refused to seat its duly elected Senators and Representatives. Then, within the next few months, the Congress proceeded to work out a plan of southern reconstruction quite different from the one Lincoln had started and Johnson had continued.

THE WAR'S AFTERMATH

Wide public support gradually developed for those members of Congress who felt that the Negro should be given the full benefits of citizenship. By July 1866, Congress had passed a civil rights bill and set up a new Freedmen's Bureau—both designed to prevent racial discrimination by southern legislatures. Following this, the Congress passed a Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, stating that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the states in which they reside."

All the southern state legislatures, with the exception of Tennessee, refused to ratify the amendment, some voting against it unanimously. Certain groups in the north then advocated intervention to protect the rights of Negroes in the south. In the Reconstruction Act of March 1867, the Congress, ignoring the governments that had been established in the southern states, divided the south into five districts and placed them under military rule. Escape from permanent military government was open to those states that established civil governments, took an oath of allegiance, ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and adopted Negro suffrage.

In July 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified. The Fifteenth Amendment, passed by Congress the following year and ratified in 1870 by state legislatures, provided that "The rights

Gradually southern states began electing members of the Democratic Party to office. By 1876, the Republicans remained in power in only three southern states. The election that year, one of the closest in American history, made it plain that the south would have no peace until northern troops were withdrawn. The next year, President Rutherford B. Hayes removed them, thereby admitting the failure of the "radical" reconstruction policy.

Northern rule was ended in the south. But the south was now a region not only devastated by war but also burdened by debt caused by misgovernment and demoralized by a decade of racial warfare. After 12 years of "false" reconstruction—from 1865 to 1877—real efforts to rebuild the south began.

THE ERA OF EXPANSION AND REFORM

"We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege."

Woodrow Wilson

Message to Congress, April 8, 1913

Between two great wars—the Civil War and the first World War—the United States of America came of age. In a period of less than 50 years it was transformed from a rural republic to an urban state. The frontier vanished. Great factories and steel mills, transcontinental railroad lines, flourishing cities, vast agricultural holdings marked the land. With these came corresponding evils. Monopolies tended to develop. Working conditions were often poor. Cities grew so quickly they could not properly house or govern their teeming populations. Factory production sometimes outran practical consumption.

Reaction against these and other abuses came from the American people and their political leaders—Grover Cleveland, William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson. Articulate reformers, idealistic in philosophy but realistic in execution, underscored the need for reform, and the accomplishments of the period did serve effectively to check the wrongs engendered by over-rapid expansion.

"The Civil War," says one writer, "cut a wide gash through the history of the country; it dramatized in a stroke the changes that had begun to take place during the preceding 20 or 30 years. . . ." War needs had enormously stimulated manufacturing and had speeded an economic process based on the exploitation of iron, steam, and electric power, and the forward march of science and invention. In the years before 1860, 36,000 patents were granted; in the next 30 years, 440,000 patents were

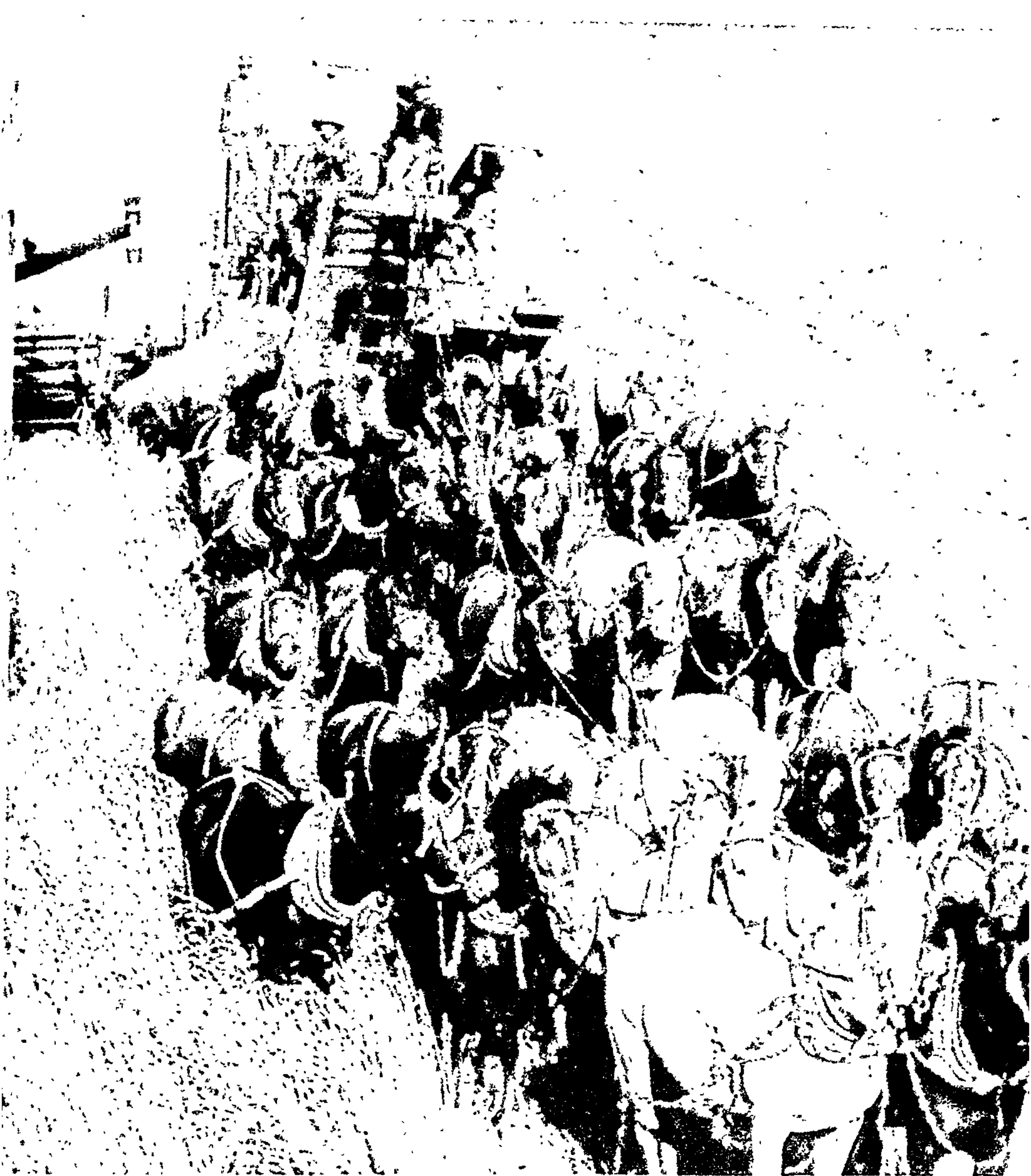
issued, and in the first quarter of the 20th century, the number reached nearly a million.

As early as 1844, Samuel F. B. Morse had perfected electrical telegraphy, and soon afterward distant parts of the continent were linked by a network of poles and wires. In 1876, Alexander Graham Bell exhibited a telephone instrument and, within half a century, 16 million telephones would quicken the social and economic life of the nation. The growth of business was speeded by the invention of the typewriter in 1867, the adding machine in 1888, and the cash register in 1897. The linotype composing machine, invented in 1886, the rotary press and paper-folding machinery made it possible to print 240,000 eight-page newspapers in an hour. Edison's incandescent lamp lit millions of homes. The talking machine, too, was perfected by Edison, who, in conjunction with George Eastman, also helped develop the motion picture. These and many other applications of science and ingenuity resulted in a new level of productivity in almost every field.

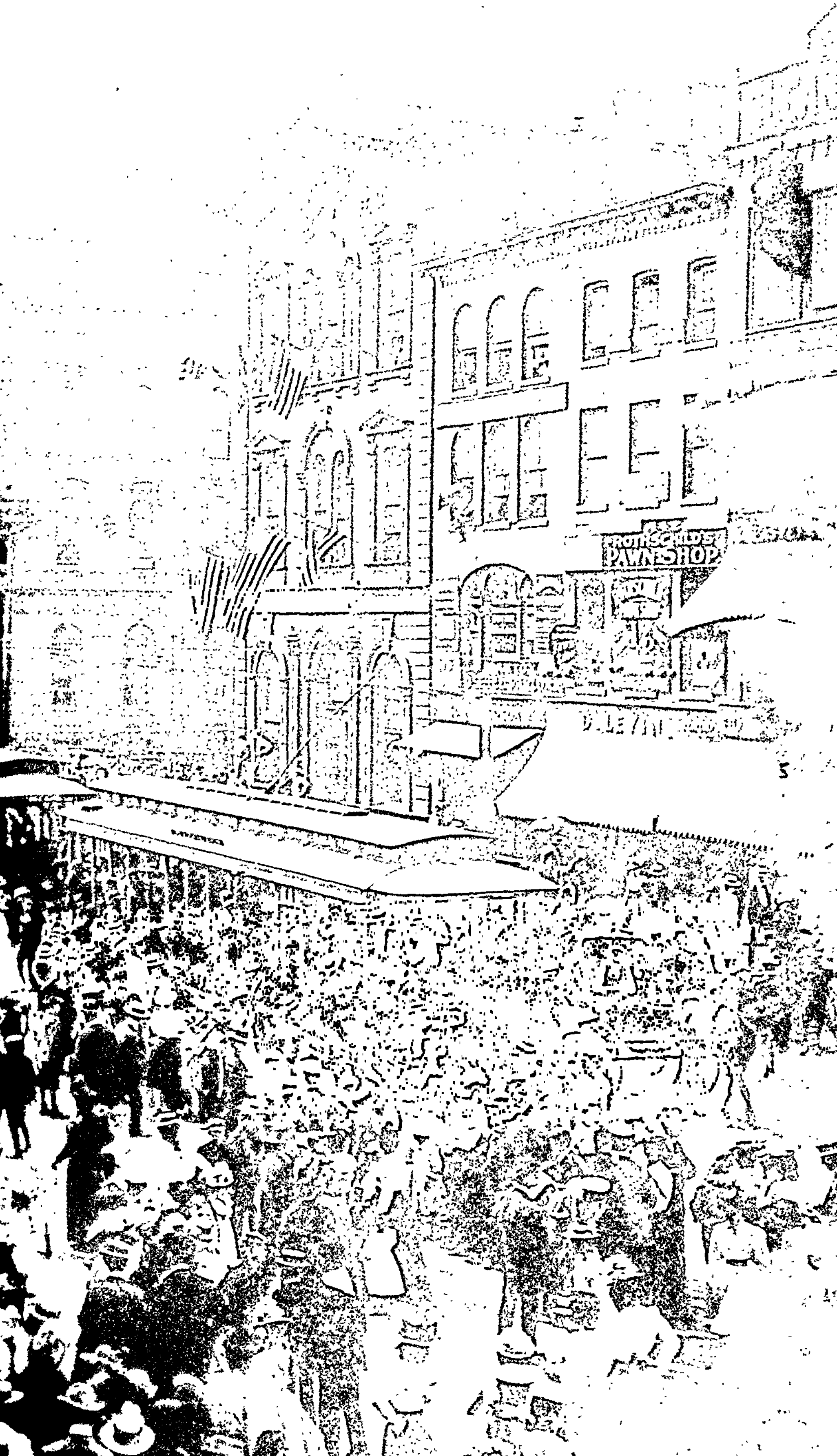
Concurrently, the nation's basic industry—iron and steel—was forging ahead, protected by a high tariff. Previously concentrated near deposits in the eastern states, the iron industry moved westward as geologists discovered new ore deposits. Especially notable was the great Mesabi iron range at the head of Lake Superior, which became one of the largest ore producers in the world. The ore lay on the surface of the ground and was easy and cheap to mine. Remarkably free of chemical impurities, it could be processed into steel of superior quality at about one-tenth the previously prevailing cost.

INDUSTRY GROWS BIGGER

Andrew Carnegie was largely responsible for the great advances in steel production. Coming to America from Scotland as a child of 12, Carnegie progressed from bobbin boy in a cotton factory to a job in a telegraph office, then to one on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Before he was 30 he had made shrewd and far-sighted investments, which by 1865 were concentrated in iron. Within a few years, he had organized, or had stock in, companies making iron bridges, rails, and locomotives. Ten years later the steel mill he built on the Monongahela River in Pennsylvania was the largest in the country.



The railroads that met at Promontory Point (lower left) in 1869 joined the coasts. Equally important, they gave homesteaders like those in this wagon train that set out from Kansas in 1872 a link with cities. Soon the flourishing farms of the west needed mechanical monsters like the combine above to harvest huge crops.


PAWNSHOP

Carnegie acquired commanding control not only of new mills, but also of coke and coal properties, iron ore from Lake Superior, a fleet of steamers on the Great Lakes, a port town on Lake Erie, and a connecting railroad. His business, allied with a dozen others, could command favorable terms from railroads and shipping lines. His resources sufficed amply for a vast expansion of plants and labor. Nothing comparable in industrial growth had ever been seen in America before.

Yet though Carnegie long dominated the industry, he never achieved a complete monopoly over the natural resources, transportation, and industrial plants involved in the making of steel. In the 1890s, new companies challenged his pre-eminence, and at first, stung by competition, Carnegie threatened to build an even more powerful business complex. But now, a tired old man, he was persuaded to merge his holdings with an organization that eventually would embrace most of the important iron and steel properties in the nation.

The United States Steel Corporation, which resulted from this merger in 1901, illustrated a process under way for 30 years: the combination of independent industrial enterprises into federated or centralized companies. Begun during the Civil War, the trend gathered momentum after the 1870s, as businessmen realized that if they could bring competing firms into a single organization, they could control both production and markets. The "corporation" and the "trust" were developed to achieve these ends.

Corporations, making available a deep reservoir of capital and giving business enterprises permanent life and continuity of control, attracted investors both by the profits anticipated and by the limited liability in case of business failure. In their turn, the trusts, which were in effect combinations of corporations whereby the stockholders of each placed their stocks in the hands of trustees who managed the business of all, made possible large-scale combinations, centralized control and administration, and the pooling of patents. Their larger capital resources provided greater power to expand, to compete with foreign business organizations, and to drive hard bargains with labor, which was beginning to organize effectively. They could also exact favorable terms from railroads and exercise influence in politics.

The Standard Oil Company, one of the earliest and strongest corporations, was followed rapidly by other combinations—in cottonseed oil, lead, sugar, tobacco, and rubber. Soon aggressive

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individual businessmen began to mark out industrial domains for themselves. Four great meat packers, chief among them Philip Armour and Gustavus Swift, established a beef trust. The McCormicks achieved pre-eminence in the reaper business. A 1904 survey showed that more than 5,000 previously independent concerns had been consolidated into some 300 industrial trusts.

The trend toward amalgamation was manifest in other fields, particularly in transportation and communications. Western Union, earliest of the large communications combinations, was followed by the Bell Telephone System and eventually by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Cornelius Vanderbilt, who had seen that efficient railroading required unification, in the 1860s consolidated some 13 separate railroads into a single line connecting New York City and Buffalo, nearly 380 kilometers away. During the next decade he acquired lines to Chicago and Detroit, and the New York Central System came into being. Other consolidations were already under way, and soon the major railroads of the nation were organized into trunk lines and "systems" directed by a handful of men.

CITIES AND PROBLEMS MULTIPLY

In this new industrial order, the city was the nerve center, bringing to a focus all the dynamic economic forces: vast accumulations of capital, business and financial institutions, spreading railroad yards, smoky factories, and armies of manual and clerical workers. Villages, attracting people from the countryside and from lands across the sea, grew into towns and towns into cities almost overnight. In 1830, only one of every 15 persons lived in communities of 8,000 or over; in 1860, the ratio was nearly one in every six; and in 1890, three in every 10. No single city had as many as a million inhabitants in 1860, but 30 years later New York had a million and a half, and Chicago and Philadelphia each had over a million. In these three decades, Philadelphia and Baltimore doubled in population, Kansas City and Detroit grew fourfold, Cleveland sixfold, Chicago tenfold. Minneapolis, Omaha, and many communities like them—hamlets when the Civil War began—increased 50 times or more in population.

Grover Cleveland, a Democrat elected to the Presidency in 1884, understood the forces that were transforming the country and made some effort to control them. Several railroad abuses

demanded redress. The practice of extending cheaper rates to large shippers by rebating a portion of the charge, operated to the disadvantage of small shippers. Also, some railroads charged arbitrarily higher rates to some shippers than to others between certain points, irrespective of distance.

Moreover, while competition held down freight charges between cities with several rail connections, rates were excessive between points served by only one line. Thus it cost less to ship goods 1,280 kilometers from Chicago to New York than to places a few hundred kilometers from Chicago. And by joint action to avoid competition—pooling—rival companies divided the freight business according to a prearranged scheme that placed the total earnings in a common fund for distribution.

Popular resentment at these practices stimulated state efforts at regulation. These had some salutary effect, but the problem was national in character and demanded congressional action.

In 1887, President Cleveland signed the Interstate Commerce Act, which forbade excessive charges, pools, rebates, and rate discrimination, and created an Interstate Commerce Commission to guard against violations of the act and to regulate railroad charges and practices.

Cleveland was also active in combatting the high tariff, which, adopted originally as an emergency war measure, had come to be accepted as permanent national policy. Cleveland regarded this as responsible, in large measure, for a burdensome increase in the cost of living and for the rapid development of trusts. After many years, during which the tariff had not been a political issue, the Democrats, in 1880, demanded a "tariff for revenue only," and soon the clamor for reform became insistent. In his annual message in 1887, Cleveland, despite warnings to avoid the explosive subject, startled the nation by denouncing the extremes to which the principle of protecting American industry from foreign competition had been pushed.

The tariff became the issue of the next presidential election campaign, and the Republican candidate, Benjamin Harrison, defending protectionism, won. The Harrison Administration, fulfilling its campaign promises, passed in 1890 the McKinley tariff bill, a measure designed not only to protect established industries but also to foster infant industries and, by prohibitory duties, to create new ones. The new tariff's generally high rates were shortly reflected in high retail prices, and before long there was wide-

spread dissatisfaction.

During this period, public antipathy toward the trusts increased, and the gigantic corporations, subjected to bitter attack through the 1880s by such reformers as Henry George and Edward Bellamy, became a hotly debated political issue. To break the monopolies, the Sherman Antitrust Act, passed in 1890, forbade all combinations in restraint of interstate trade and provided several methods of enforcement with severe penalties. Couched in vague generalities, the law itself accomplished little immediately after its passage. But a decade later, in the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, its effective application earned the President the nickname of "trust-buster."

Despite these significant trends, the political picture of the period was largely negative. One distinguished historian has written: "Between 1865 and 1897 there were put upon the federal law books not more than two or three acts which need long detain the citizen concerned only with those manifestations of political power that produce essential readjustments in human relations." The vitality of the people was directed elsewhere, as most clearly reflected in the history of the west. In 1865 the frontier line followed generally the western limits of the states bordering the Mississippi River, bulging outward to include the eastern sections of Kansas and Nebraska. Behind this thin edge of pioneer farms there was still much unoccupied land, and beyond that stretched the unfenced prairies, merging finally in the sagebrush plains that extended to the foothills of the Rockies. Then, for nearly 1,600 kilometers, loomed the huge bulk of mountain ranges, many richly stored with silver, gold, and other metals. On the far side, untouched plains and deserts stretched to the wooded coastal ranges and the Pacific Ocean. Apart from the settled districts in California and scattered outposts, the vast inland region was peopled only by Indians.

OPPORTUNITIES OPEN IN THE WEST

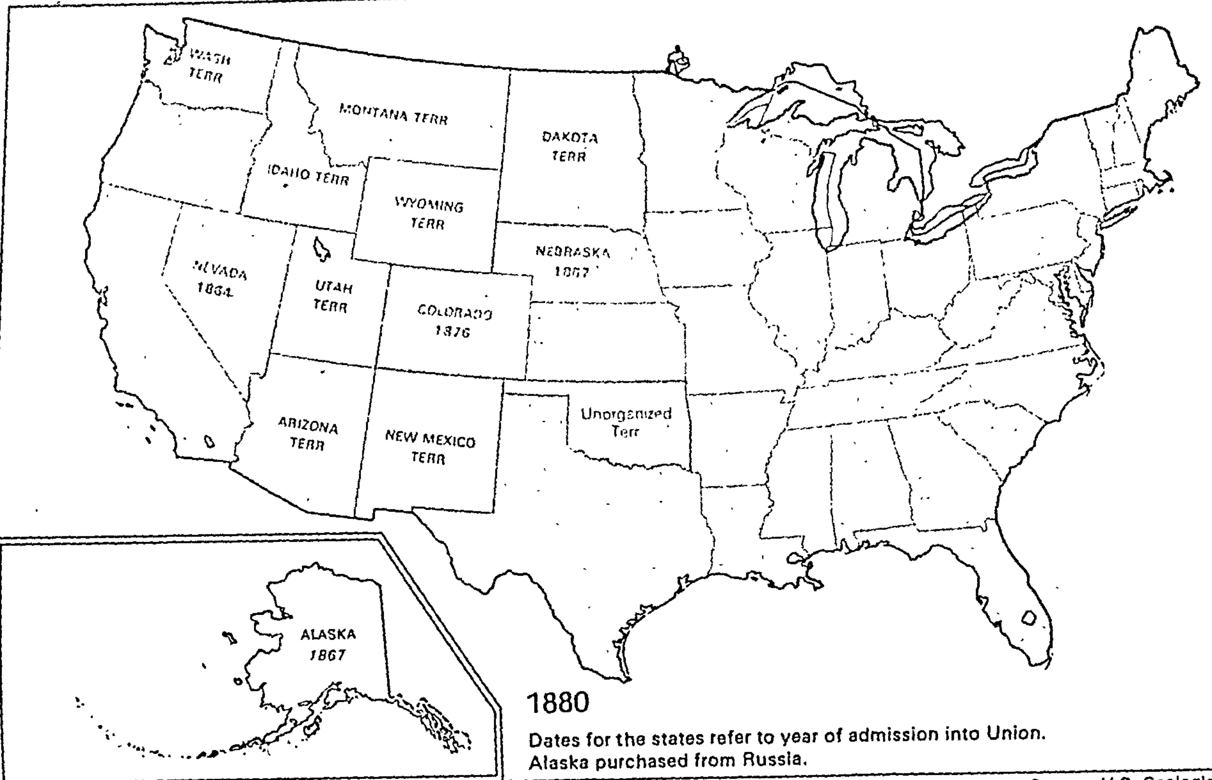
A mere quarter-century later, virtually all the country had been carved into states and territories. Settlement was spurred by the Homestead Act of 1862, which granted free farms of 64 hectares to citizens who would occupy and improve the land. By 1880 the Act had placed nearly 22,400,000 hectares into private hands. Conflicts with the Indians had come to an end. Miners had ranged

over the whole of the mountain country, tunneling into the earth, establishing little communities in Nevada, Montana, and Colorado. Cattlemen, taking advantage of the enormous grasslands, had laid claim to the huge expanse stretching from Texas to the upper Missouri River. Sheepmen, too, had found their way to the valleys and mountain slopes. Farmers swarmed into the plains and valleys and closed the gap between the east and west. By 1890, the frontier had disappeared. Five or six million men and women now farmed where buffalo had roamed only two decades before.

Speeding this settlement were the railroads. In 1862, Congress voted a charter to the Union Pacific Railroad, which pushed westward from Council Bluffs, Iowa. At the same time, the Central Pacific began to build eastward from Sacramento, California. The whole country was stirred as the two lines steadily approached each other, finally meeting on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point in Utah. The months of laborious travel hitherto separating the two oceans was now cut to a fraction of that time. The continental rail network grew steadily, and by 1884 four great lines linked the central Mississippi Valley area with the Pacific.

The first great rush of population to the far west was drawn to the mountainous regions, where gold was found in California in 1848, in Colorado and Nevada 10 years later, in Montana and Wyoming in the 1860s, and in the Black Hills of the Dakota country in the 1870s. Miners opened up the country, established communities, and laid the foundations for more permanent settlements. Yet even while digging in the hills, some settlers perceived the region's farming and stock-raising possibilities. Eventually, though a few communities continued to be devoted almost exclusively to mining, the real wealth of Montana, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and California proved to be in the grass and soil.

Cattle-raising, long an important industry in Texas, became even more flourishing after the war, when enterprising men began to drive their Texas longhorns north across the open public domain. Feeding as they went, the cattle arrived at railway shipping points in Kansas, larger and fatter than when they started. Soon this "long drive" became a regular event, and, for hundreds of kilometers, trails were dotted with herds of cattle moving northward. Cattle-raising spread into the trans-Missouri region, and immense ranches appeared in Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakota territory. Western cities flourished as [illegible]rs f[illegible]he slaughter and dressing of meat.


WASH TERR
MONTANA TERR
DAKOTA TERR
IDAHO TERR
WYOMING TERR
NEBRASKA 1867
NEVADA 1864
UTAH TERR
COLORADO 1876
Unorganized Terr
ARIZONA TERR
NEW MEXICO TERR
ALASKA 1867
1880
Dates for the states refer to year of admission into Union.
Alaska purchased from Russia.
Source: U.S. Geological Survey

Ranching introduced a colorful mode of existence with the picturesque cowboy as its central figure. "We led a free and hardy life with horse and with rifle," wrote Theodore Roosevelt, twenty-fifth President of the United States, in reminiscence of his own experiences in Dakota. "We worked under the scorching midsummer sun when the wide plains shimmered and wavered in the heat; and we knew the freezing misery of riding night guard round the cattle in the late fall roundup.... But we felt the beat of hardy life in our veins and ours was the glory of work and the joy of living."

Altogether, between 1866 and 1888, some six million head of cattle were driven up from Texas to winter on the high plains of Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. The cattle boom reached its height by 1885, then the range became too heavily pastured to support the long drive, and was beginning to be criss-crossed by railroads. Not far behind the rancher creaked the prairie schooners of the farmers bringing their womenfolk and children, their draft horses, cows, and pigs. Under the Homestead Act they staked their claims and fenced them with barbed wire. Ranchmen were ousted from lands they had roamed without legal title. Soon the romantic "wild west" had ceased to be.

MACHINES AND SCIENCE HELP FARMERS

Despite the great gains in industry, agriculture remained the nation's basic occupation. The revolution in agriculture—paralleling that in manufacturing after the war—involved a shift from hand labor to machine farming, and from subsistence to commercial agriculture. Between 1860 and 1910, the number of farms in the United States trebled, increasing from 2 million to 6 million while the area farmed more than doubled from 160 million to 352 million hectares.

Between 1860 and 1890, the production of such basic commodities as wheat, corn, and cotton outstripped all previous figures in the United States. In the same period, the nation's population more than doubled, with largest growth in the cities. But the American farmer grew enough grain and cotton, raised enough beef and pork, and clipped enough wool not only to supply American workers and their families but also to create ever-increasing surpluses.

Several factors accounted for this extraordinary achievement.

One was the expansion into the west. Another was the application of machinery to farming. The farmer of 1800, using a hand sickle, could hope to cut a fifth of a hectare of wheat a day. With the cradle, 30 years later, he might cut eight-tenths of a hectare a day. In 1840, Cyrus McCormick performed a miracle by cutting from two to two-and-a-half hectares a day with the curious machine he had been developing for nearly 10 years. Foreseeing the demand, he headed west to the young prairie town of Chicago, where he set up a reaper factory and by 1860 sold a quarter of a million reapers.

Other farm machines were developed in rapid succession: the automatic wire binder, the threshing machine, the reaper-thresher or combine. Mechanical planters, cutters, huskers, and shellers appeared, as did cream separators, manure spreaders, potato planters, hay driers, poultry incubators, and a hundred other inventions.

Scarcely less important than machinery in the agricultural revolution was science. In 1862, the Morrill Land-Grant College Act allotted public land to each state for the establishment of agricultural and industrial colleges. These were to serve both as educational institutions and as centers for research in scientific farming. Congress subsequently appropriated funds for the creation of agricultural experiment stations throughout the country and also granted funds directly to the Department of Agriculture for research purposes. By the beginning of the new century, scientists throughout the land were at work on a wide variety of agricultural projects.

One of these scientists, Mark Carleton, traveled for the Department of Agriculture to Russia. There he found and exported to his homeland the rust-and-drought-resistant winter wheat that now accounts for more than half the United States wheat crop. Another scientist, Marion Dorset, conquered the dread hog cholera, while still another, George Mohler, helped conquer hoof-and-mouth disease. From North Africa, one researcher brought back Kaffir corn; from Turkestan, another imported the yellow-flowering alfalfa. Luther Burbank, in California, produced scores of new fruits and vegetables; in Wisconsin, Stephen Babcock devised a test for determining the butter-fat content of milk; at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, the great Negro scientist George Washington Carver found hundreds of new uses for the peanut, sweet potato, and soybean.

FARMERS FACE HARDSHIPS

In spite of his remarkable progress, the American farmer in the 19th century experienced recurring periods of hardship. Several basic factors were involved—soil exhaustion, the vagaries of nature, overproduction of staple crops, decline in self-sufficiency, and lack of adequate legislative protection and aid. Southern soil had long been exhausted by tobacco and cotton culture, but in the west, and on the plains too, soil erosion, wind storms, and insect pests ravaged the land.

The swift mechanization of agriculture west of the Mississippi proved a mixed blessing. It encouraged many farmers to expand their holdings unwisely; it stimulated concentration on staple crops; it gave large farmers a distinct advantage over small ones and hastened the development of tenancy. These problems were to remain largely unsolved for many years until the widespread acceptance of modern soil-conservation techniques.

Even more complex, but more readily susceptible to swift remedial action, was the problem of prices. The farmer sold his product in a competitive world market but purchased his supplies, equipment, and household goods in a market protected against competition. The price he got for his wheat, cotton, or beef was determined abroad; the price he paid for his harvester, fertilizer, and barbed wire was fixed by trusts setting prices behind a protective tariff. From 1870 to 1890 prices of most farm products moved irregularly downward, and the value of American farm products increased only $500 million. In the same period, however, the value of manufactures increased by $6,000 million.

This economic imbalance prompted the formation of farmers' organizations to consider common grievances and propose relief measures. Most of these were patterned after the association known as the Grange, established in 1867. Within a few years there were Granges in almost every state, with a total membership exceeding three-quarters of a million. Beginning chiefly as social groups seeking to lessen farmers' isolation, the organizations turned to the discussion of business and politics, and soon many Granges were setting up their own marketing systems and their own stores, processing plants, and factories. In a number of mid-western states they elected members to the legislature and had a vital influence in the passing of laws directly affecting their economic well-being.

Nevertheless, many of the Grange enterprises failed, and their importance dwindled, in the late 1870s, with the resurgence of prosperity. The movement was revived in the late 1880s and early 1890s, when drought descended on the stricken prairies and the prices of wheat and cotton plunged.

New organizations called Farmers' Alliances appeared and by 1890 had two million members. In addition to mounting an extensive educational program, these groups made vigorous demands for political reform. Alliance members soon formed a crusading political party known as the Populists, in active opposition to the old Democratic and Republican parties.

POPULISTS ADVOCATE EASY MONEY

Never before in American politics had there been anything like the Populist fever that swept the prairies and cotton lands. After a hard day in the fields, farmers hitched up their buggies, and, with their wives and children, jogged off to the meeting house and applauded the impassioned oratory of their leaders. The elections of 1890 swept the new party into power in a dozen southern and western states and sent a score of Populist Senators and Representatives to Congress. Encouraged by this success, the Populists drew up a progressive platform demanding extensive reforms, including a graduated income tax, a national system of loans for farmers, government ownership of railroads, an eight-hour day for labor, and an increase in the supply of currency by the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

In the election of 1892, the Populists showed impressive strength in the west and south, but although their presidential candidate polled more than a million votes, the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, was elected. Four years later, the dynamic Populists, fused nearly everywhere with the Democratic Party, persuaded the new Democratic leaders to make a major political issue of the money question.

The United States, from its beginning, had been on a bimetallic standard, that is, the government stood ready to coin into dollars all the gold and silver that might be brought to the mint. In 1873, Congress reorganized the monetary system and, among other things, omitted the standard silver dollar from the list of authorized domestic coins. At the time this caused little concern, for silver metal was scarce. In fact, no silver dollars had been in

circulation for 40 years. The situation changed precipitously when new silver deposits were discovered in the mountain states of the west, and the simultaneous demonetization of silver by several European countries loosed a tremendous silver supply.

Since the country was experiencing an economic slowdown, agrarian spokesmen in the west and south—supported by labor groups in the eastern industrial centers—demanded a return to the unlimited coinage of silver. Convinced that their troubles stemmed from a shortage of money in circulation, these groups argued that enlarging the volume of money in use would indirectly raise prices for farm products and increase wages in industry, thus allowing debts to be paid. More conservative groups, on the other hand, believing that such a policy would be financially disastrous, insisted that inflation, once begun, could not be stopped, and that the government itself would be forced into bankruptcy. Only the gold standard, they said, offered stability.

The Silverites—Democrats and Populists together—found a leader in William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, their candidate for President in the 1896 election. But his party was weak and his opponents strong. William McKinley won the election by more than half-a-million votes. All the same, Bryan's campaign was to become legendary, and except for their monetary policies, most of the ideas of the Populists and the agrarian Democrats were later written into law. Significantly too, this campaign bore striking witness to the solidarity the Union had achieved since the Civil War. Though the farmers' grievances were no less real than those of the slaveholders, there was no talk now of nullification or of secession.

SPAIN LOSES WAR AND COLONIES

National unity was even more clearly visible during the war with Spain in 1898. Spain had continued to rule the island of Cuba—lying to the south of the Florida peninsula—where trade with the United States was actively flourishing. In 1895, Cuba's growing wrath against the tyranny of the mother country burst into a war of independence.

The United States watched the course of the uprising with mounting concern. Most Americans were sympathetic with the Cubans, but President Cleveland was determined to preserve neutrality. Three years later, however, during the McKinley Ad-

ministration, when the U. S. warship *Maine* was destroyed while lying at anchor in Havana harbor and 260 men were killed, an outburst of indignation arose. Although for a time McKinley tried to preserve the peace, within a few months, believing delay futile, he recommended armed intervention.

The war with Spain was swift and decisive. During the four months it lasted, not a single American reverse of any importance occurred. A week after the declaration of war, Commodore George Dewey, then at Hong Kong, proceeded with his squadron of six vessels to the Philippines. His orders were to prevent the Spanish fleet based there from operating in American waters. He proceeded to destroy the entire Spanish fleet without losing an American life. Meanwhile, in Cuba, troops were landed near Santiago, where, after winning a rapid series of engagements, they fired on the port. Four armored Spanish cruisers steamed out of Santiago Bay and a few hours later were reduced to ruined hulks.

From Boston to San Francisco, whistles blew and flags waved when word came that Santiago had fallen. Newspapers dispatched correspondents to Cuba and the Philippines, who trumpeted the renown of the nation's new heroes. Chief among them were George Dewey of Manila fame and Theodore Roosevelt, leader of the "Rough Riders," a volunteer cavalry regiment he had recruited for service in Cuba. Spain soon sued for peace, and in the treaty signed on December 10, 1898, transferred Cuba to the United States for temporary occupation preliminary to the island's independence. In addition, Spain ceded Puerto Rico and Guam in lieu of war indemnity, and the Philippines on payment of $20 million.

Newly established in the Philippines, the United States now had high hopes of a vigorous trade with China. Since China's defeat by Japan in 1894-95, however, various European nations had acquired naval bases, leased territories, and established spheres of influence there. They had secured not only monopolistic trade rights but also exclusive concessions for investing capital in railway construction and mining development in adjoining regions.

In its own earlier diplomatic relations with the Orient, the American government had always insisted upon equality of commercial privileges for all nations, and now, if this principle were to be preserved, a bold course was necessary. In September 1899 Secretary of State John Hay addressed a circular note to the powers concerned, who thereupon agreed to the doctrine of the "open door" for all nations in China—that is, equality of trading

opportunities (including equal tariffs, harbor duties, and railway rates) in the areas they controlled.

In 1900, however, the Chinese struck out against the foreigners. In June, insurgents seized Peiping and besieged the foreign legations there. Hay promptly announced to the powers that the United States would oppose any disturbance of Chinese territorial or administrative rights or of the "open door." Once the rebellion was quelled it required all his skill to carry out the American program and to protect China from crushing indemnities. In October, however, Great Britain and Germany once more signified their adherence to the open-door policy and the preservation of Chinese independence, and the other nations soon followed.

Meanwhile, the presidential election of 1900 gave the American people a chance to pass judgment on the McKinley Administration, especially its foreign policy. Meeting at Philadelphia, the Republicans expressed jubilation over the successful outcome of the war with Spain, the restoration of prosperity, and the effort to obtain new markets through the "policy of the open door." McKinley's election, with Theodore Roosevelt as his running mate, was a foregone conclusion. But the President did not live long enough to enjoy his victory. In September 1901, while attending an exposition in Buffalo, New York, he was shot down by an assassin. McKinley's death brought Theodore Roosevelt to the presidential chair.

SOCIAL CRITICISM BECOMES WIDESPREAD

In domestic as well as international affairs, Roosevelt's accession coincided with a new epoch in American political life. The continent was peopled, the frontier was gone. A small, struggling republic had become a world power. The country's political foundations had endured the vicissitudes of foreign and civil war, the tides of prosperity and depression. Immense strides had been made in agriculture and industry. Free public education had been largely realized. A free press had been maintained. The ideal of religious freedom had been sustained. Yet thoughtful Americans were not complacent about their social, economic, and political situation. For big business was now more firmly entrenched than ever. Often, local and municipal government was in the hands of corrupt politicians. And a spirit of materialism was infecting every segment of society.

Against these evils arose a full-throated protest that gave American politics and thought its peculiar character from approximately 1890 to World War I. It was not altogether a new note. Since the early days of the Industrial Revolution, farmers had been fighting a battle against the cities and against the rising industrial magnates. As far back as the 1850s, reformers had leveled sharp criticism at the system of patronage by which successful politicians distributed government positions to their supporters. After a 30-year struggle, the reformers achieved the passage, in 1883, of the Pendleton Civil Service Bill. This law, establishing a merit system in government service, marked the beginning of political reform.

Industrial workers also had spoken up against injustices. The Knights of Labor, which they founded in 1869 for self-protection, had a membership of 700,000 by the middle 1880s. After that date, the organization declined, but it was soon replaced by the American Federation of Labor, a powerful organization of craft unions. By 1900, labor was a major force.

Almost every notable figure of the period, whether in politics, philosophy, scholarship, or literature, derived his fame, in part, from his connection with the reform movement. The heroes of the day were all reformers, strongly protesting practices and principles inherited from the 18th-century rural republic that proved inadequate for a 20th-century urban state.

The years 1902 to 1908 marked the era of greatest reformist activity. Years before, in 1873, Mark Twain had exposed American society to critical scrutiny in *The Gilded Age*. Now, trenchant articles dealing with trusts, high finance, impure foods, and abusive railroad practices began to appear in the daily newspapers and in such popular magazines as *McClure's*, *Everybody's*, and *Collier's*. Upton Sinclair, using fiction as his medium, published *The Jungle*, exposing unsanitary conditions in the great Chicago meat-packing houses and the grip of the beef trust on the nation's meat supply. Theodore Dreiser in *The Financier* and *The Titan* made it easy for laymen to understand the machinations of big business. Frank Norris' *The Pit* clarified much of the agrarian protest. Lincoln Steffens' *The Shame of the Cities* bared political corruption. This "literature of exposure" had a vital effect in rousing the people to action.

The hammering impact of uncompromising writers and an increasingly aroused public spurred political leaders to practical

measures. Several states enacted laws to improve the conditions under which people lived and worked. For example, child-labor laws were strengthened and new ones adopted, raising age limits, shortening work hours, restricting night work, requiring school attendance.

REFORMS HELP COMMON PEOPLE

By this time, most of the larger cities and more than half the states had established an eight-hour day on public works. Hardly less important were the workmen's compensation laws, which made employers legally responsible for injuries sustained by employees in the course of their work. New revenue laws were also enacted, which, by taxing inheritances, incomes, and the property or earnings of corporations, sought to place the burden of government on those best able to pay.

It was clear to many men—notably [illegible]ent Theodore Roosevelt—that most of the problems re[illegible] concerned about could be solved only if dealt with on [illegible] Roosevelt, who was passionately interested in re[illegible]mined to give the people a "square deal," initiated h[illegible]ased government supervision in the enforcement [illegible]vs. Later, extension of government supervision [illegible]s prompted the passage of two major regulatory b[illegible] the Elkins Act of 1903, making published rates th[illegible] and shippers equally liable with railroads for reb[illegible] the government successfully to prosecute erring co[illegible]

Roosevelt's striking personality and his "trust-[illegible]tivities captured the imagination of the man in the [illegible] approval of his progressive measures cut across part[illegible] addition, the abounding prosperity of the country at th[illegible] people to feel satisfied with the party in office. His vict[illegible] 1904 election was assured.

Emboldened by a sweeping electoral triumph, R[illegible] applied fresh determination to the cause of reform. In h[illegible] annual message, he called for still more drastic railroad regu[illegible] and in June of 1906 the Hepburn Act was passed. This gav[illegible] Interstate Commerce Commission real authority in regu[illegible] rates, extended the jurisdiction of the Commission, and forced railroads to surrender their interlocking interests in steams[illegible] lines and coal companies.

Other Congressional measures carried the principle of federal control still further. The pure-food law of 1906 prohibited the use of any "deleterious drug, chemical, or preservative" in prepared medicines and foods. This was soon reinforced by an act requiring federal inspection of all concerns selling meats in interstate commerce.

Meanwhile, Congress had created a new Department of Commerce and Labor, with membership in the President's Cabinet. One bureau of the new Department, empowered to investigate the affairs of large business aggregations, discovered in 1907 that the American Sugar Refining Company had defrauded the government of a large sum in import duties. Resulting legal actions recovered more than $4 million and convicted several company officials. The Standard Oil Company of Indiana was indicted for receiving secret rebates on shipments over the Chicago and Alton Railroad. The fine imposed, amounting to $29,240,000 on 1,462 separate contracts, reflected the spirit of the time.

ROOSEVELT ACTS TO SAVE RESOURCES

Conservation of the nation's natural resources, putting an end to wasteful exploitation of raw materials, and the reclamation of wide stretches of neglected land were among the major achievements of the Roosevelt era. Roosevelt had called for a far-reaching and integrated program of conservation, reclamation, and irrigation as early as 1901 in his first annual message to Congress. Whereas his predecessors had set aside 18,800,000 hectares of timberland, Roosevelt increased the area to 59,200,000 hectares and began systematic efforts to prevent forest fires and to retimber denuded tracts.

In 1907, Roosevelt appointed an Inland Waterways Commission to study the relation of rivers, soil, and forest, waterpower development and water transportation. Out of the recommendations of this Commission grew the plan for a national conservation conference, which focused the nation's attention upon the need for conservation.

The Commission's declaration of principles stressed the conservation of forests, water and minerals, and addressed itself to the problems of soil erosion and irrigation. Its recommendations included the regulation of timber-cutting on private lands, the improvement of navigable streams, and the conservation of water-

sheds. As a result, many states established conservation commissions, and, in 1909, a National Conservation Association was formed to educate the public on the subject. In 1902, the Reclamation Act was passed, authorizing the creation of a number of large dams and reservoirs.

Roosevelt's popularity was at its peak as the campaign of 1908 neared, but he was unwilling to break the tradition by which no President had held office for more than two terms. Instead, he supported William Howard Taft, who won the election and sought to continue the Rooseveltian program. Taft made some forward steps. He continued the prosecution of trusts, further strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission, established a postal-savings bank and a parcel-post system, expanded the civil service, and sponsored the enactment of two amendments to the national Constitution.

The Sixteenth Amendment authorized a federal income tax; the Seventeenth Amendment, ratified in 1913, substituted the direct election of Senators by the people for the requirement that they be elected by state legislatures. Yet balanced against these achievements was Taft's acceptance of a tariff with protective schedules that outraged liberal opinion; his opposition to the entry of the state of Arizona into the Union because of its liberal constitution; and his growing reliance on the ultraconservative wing of his party.

By 1910 Taft's party was divided, and an overwhelming vote swept the Democrats back into control of Congress. Two years later, Woodrow Wilson, governor of the state of New Jersey, campaigned against Taft, the Republican candidate, and against Roosevelt who, rejected as a candidate by the Republican convention, had organized a third party, the Progressives.

Wilson, in a spirited campaign, defeated both rivals. Under his leadership the new Congress proceeded to put through one of the most notable legislative programs in American history. Its first task was tariff revision. "The tariff duties must be altered," Wilson said. "We must abolish everything that bears any semblance of privilege." The Underwood tariff, signed on October 3, 1913, provided substantial rate reductions on important raw materials and foodstuffs, cotton and woolen goods, iron and steel, and it removed the duties from more than a hundred other items. Although the act retained many protective features, it was a genuine attempt to lower the cost of living.

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The second item on the Democratic program was a long-overdue, thorough reorganization of the inflexible banking and currency system, which had limped along on emergency currency issued by stopgap legislation. "Control," said Wilson, "must be public, not private, must be vested in the government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative."

The Federal Reserve Act of December 23, 1913, satisfied Wilson's requirements. It imposed upon the existing banks a new organization that divided the country into 12 districts, with a Federal Reserve Bank in each, all supervised by a Federal Reserve Board. These banks were to serve as depositories for the cash reserves of those banks that joined the system. To assure greater flexibility in the money supply, provision was made for issuing federal reserve notes to meet business demands.

The next important task was trust regulation and investigation of corporate abuses. Experience suggested a system of control similar to that of the Interstate Commerce Commission over the railways. A Federal Trade Commission was authorized to issue orders prohibiting "unfair methods of competition" by business concerns in interstate trade. A second law, the Clayton Antitrust Act, forbade many corporate practices that had thus far escaped specific condemnation—interlocking directorates, price discrimination among purchasers, and ownership by one corporation of stock in similar enterprises.

Farmers and labor were not forgotten. A Federal Farm Loan Act made credit available to farmers at low rates of interest. One provision of the Clayton Act specifically prohibited use of the injunction in labor disputes. The Seamen's Act of 1915 provided for improving employees' living and working conditions on ocean-going vessels and on lake and river craft. The Federal Workingman's Compensation Act in 1916 authorized allowances to civil service employees for disabilities incurred at work. The Adamson Act of the same year established an eight-hour day for railroad labor.

Though this record of achievement stemmed directly from President Wilson's leadership, Wilson's place in history is due not so much to his devotion to social reform as to the strange destiny that catapulted him into the role of wartime President and architect of the uneasy peace that followed World War I.

CONFLICT ABROAD, SOCIAL CHANGE AT HOME

"We must be the great arsenal of democracy."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Message to Congress, January 6, 1941

To the American public of 1914, the outbreak of war in Europe came as a shock. At first the conflict seemed remote, but its economic and political effects were soon felt. By 1915 American industry, which had been mildly depressed, was prospering again with munitions orders from the western Allies. Both sides were using propaganda to arouse public passions in America, and both Britain and Germany were committing acts against American shipping on the high seas that brought sharp protests from the Wilson Administration. But disputes between America and Germany moved more and more to the foreground.

In February 1915, German military leaders announced that they would destroy all merchantmen in the waters around the British Isles. President Wilson warned that the United States would not forsake its traditional right to trade on the high seas and declared that the nation would hold Germany to "strict accountability" for the loss of American vessels or lives. Soon afterward, in the spring of 1915, when the British liner *Lusitania* was sunk with nearly 1,200 people aboard, 128 of them Americans, indignation reached fever pitch.

Wartime stresses made for inconsistencies in President Wilson's policies. Although no American President has ever been more dedicated to peace, Wilson, observing German ruthlessness, particularly in submarine warfare, was convinced that a German victory would bring the dominance of militarism in Europe and endanger American security.

On May 4, 1916, the German government pledged that its submarine warfare would be limited in accordance with American demands, and the problem appeared to be solved. Wilson was able to win reelection that year, partly on the strength of his party's slogan, "He kept us out of war." In January 1917 in a speech before the Senate he called for a "peace without victory," which, he said, was the only kind of peace that could last.

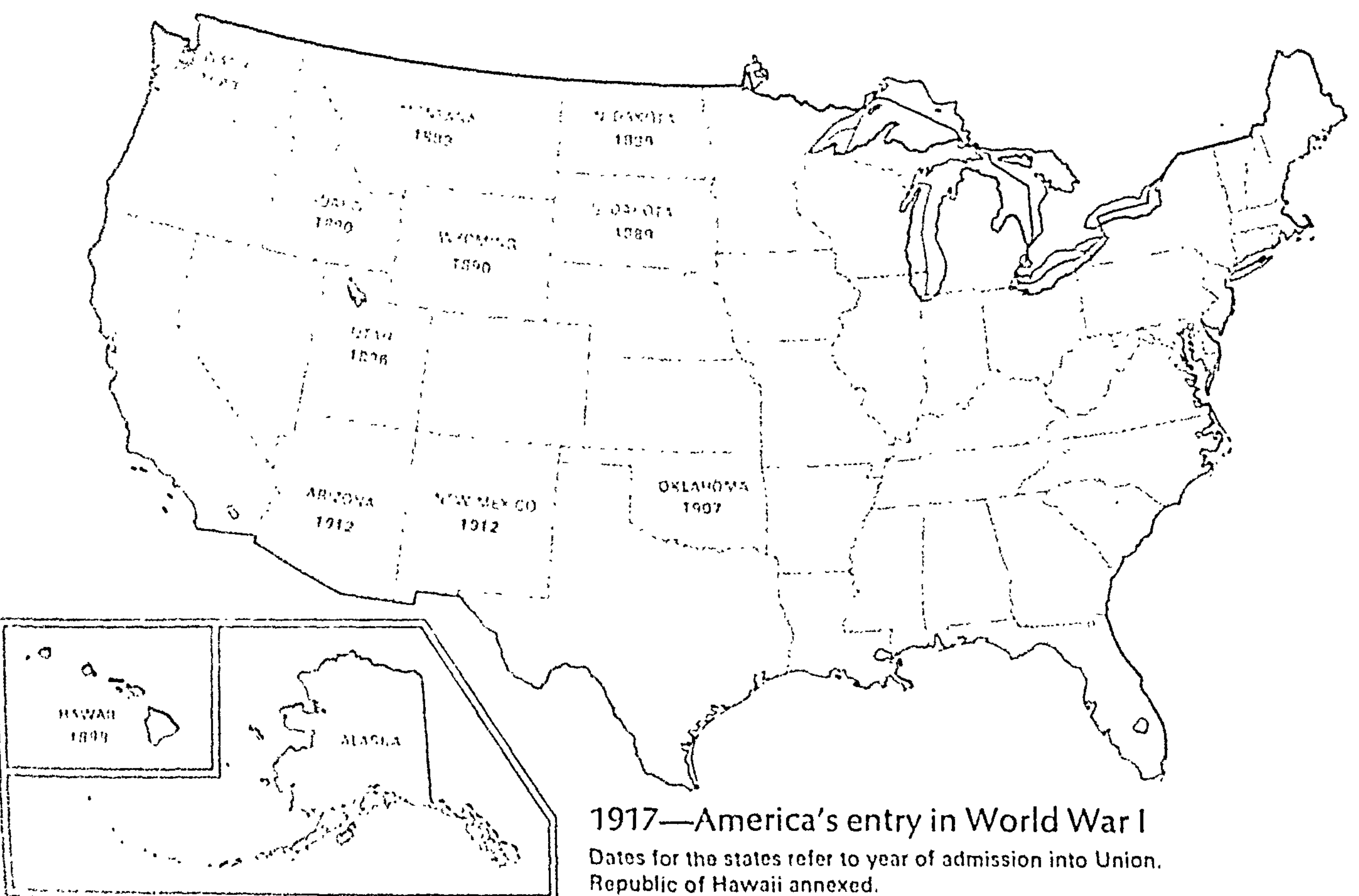
AMERICA ENTERS WORLD WAR I

Nine days later, the German government gave notice that unrestricted submarine warfare would be resumed. On April 2, 1917, after five American vessels had been sunk, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war. Immediately the American government set about mobilizing its military resources and its industry, labor, and agriculture. By October 1918, an American army of over 1,750,000 soldiers was in France.

The American navy was crucial in helping the British break the submarine blockade, and in the summer of 1918, during a long-awaited German offensive, fresh American troops played a decisive role on land. In November, an American army of over a million took an important part in the vast Meuse-Argonne offensive, which cracked the vaunted Hindenburg line.

Wilson contributed greatly to an early conclusion of the war by defining the war aims of the Allied powers, and by insisting that the struggle was being waged not against the German people but against their autocratic government. His famous Fourteen Points, submitted to the Senate in January 1918 as the basis for a just peace, called for abandonment of secret international understandings, a guarantee of freedom of the seas, the removal of economic barriers between nations, reduction of national armaments, and an adjustment of colonial claims with due regard to the interests of the inhabitants affected. Other points sought to assure self-rule and unhampered economic development for European nationalities. The Fourteen Points formed the keystone of Wilson's arch of peace—the formation of an association of nations to afford "mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

By the summer of 1918, when Germany's armies were being beaten back, the German government appealed to Wilson to negotiate on the basis of the Fourteen Points. After assuring him-



1917—America's entry in World War I

Dates for the states refer to year of admission into Union. Republic of Hawaii annexed.

Source: U.S. Geological Survey

self that the request came from representatives of the people rather than of the military clique, the President conferred with the Allies, who acceded to the German proposal. On this basis, an armistice was concluded on November 11.

ISOLATIONISM FOLLOWS PEACE

It was Wilson's hope that the final treaty would have the character of a negotiated peace, but he feared that the passions aroused by the war would cause his Allies to make severe demands. In this he was right. Persuaded that his greatest hope for the peace of the world, the League of Nations, would never be realized unless he made concessions to the Allies, he traded away point after point in the peace negotiations at Paris. Some negative points Wilson did accomplish: he denied Fiume to Italy, resisted Clemenceau's demand to detach the entire Rhineland from Germany, prevented France from annexing the Saar Basin, and frustrated a proposal to charge Germany with the whole cost of the war.

In the end, however, there was little left of his positive proposals for a generous and lasting peace but the League itself, and Wilson had to endure the final irony of seeing his own country spurn League membership. This outcome was partly due to his own poor judgment at the time. He made the political mistake of failing to take a leading member of the opposition Republican Party to Paris on his Peace Commission, and when he returned to appeal for American adherence to the League, he refused to make even the moderate concessions necessary to win ratification from a predominantly Republican Senate.

Having lost in Washington, Wilson carried his case to the people on a tour throughout the country. On September 25, 1919, physically ravaged by the rigors of peace-making and the pressures of the wartime Presidency, he suffered a crippling stroke at Pueblo, Colorado, from which he never recovered. In March 1920, the Senate in its final vote rejected both the Versailles Treaty and the League Covenant. From this point the United States withdrew deeper and deeper into a posture of isolationism. The idealistic mood passed with Wilson, and an era of apathy followed.

In the presidential election of 1920, Wilson's own party nominated a man who had not been associated prominently with the Wilson Administration, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio. The

overwhelming victory of the Republican nominee, Warren G. Harding, was final evidence of the general repudiation of Wilsonism. Although Harding had refused to commit himself clearly on the League issue during the campaign, his foreign policy, and that of his Republican successors, hewed generally to the isolationist line.

This election was the first in which women throughout the nation voted for a presidential candidate. During the war, Wilson had championed a federal amendment to permit women to vote, for their great contributions to the war effort had dramatized both their civic capacities and their right to the ballot. In 1919, Congress submitted to the states the Nineteenth Amendment, which was ratified in time to permit women to vote the following year.

CONSERVATIVE POLICIES PREVAIL

In keeping with the prevailing prosperity, at least in the urban areas of the country, American governmental policy during the 1920s was eminently conservative. It was based upon the belief that if government did what it could to foster private business, prosperity would trickle down to all ranks of the population.

Accordingly, Republican policies were intended to create the most favorable conditions for American industry. The tariff acts of 1922 and 1930 brought tariff barriers to new heights, guaranteeing to American manufacturers in one field after another a monopoly of the domestic market. The second of these tariffs, the Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930, embodied rates so high that over a thousand American economists petitioned President Hoover to veto it, and subsequent events bore out their predictions of costly retaliation by other nations. At the same time, the federal government started a program of tax reduction, reflecting Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon's belief that high income taxes would prevent the rich from investing in new industrial enterprises. Congress, in a series of laws passed between 1921 and 1929, responded favorably to his proposals that wartime taxes on income, excess profit taxes, and corporation taxes be repealed outright or drastically reduced.

Throughout the 1920s, private business received substantial encouragement, including construction loans, profitable mail-carrying contracts, and other indirect subsidies. The Transportation Acts of 1920 had already restored

nation's railroad system, which had been under strict governmental control during the war. The Merchant Marine, which had been owned and largely operated by the government from 1917 to 1920, was sold to private operators.

But the executive and legislative branches of government found themselves at odds in the field of electric power. Two great nitrate plants had been built by the government during the war at the foot of Muscle Shoals, a 59-kilometer stretch of rapids in the Tennessee River, and a series of dams had also been erected along the river to generate power. A measure providing for public generation and sale of power had passed both houses of Congress in 1928, but President Hoover returned it with a stinging veto. Later, during Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency, the model TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) experiment was built out of the Muscle Shoals project.

Meanwhile, Republican policies in agriculture were meeting mounting criticism, for farmers shared least in the well-being of the 1920s. The period from 1900 to 1920 had been one of general farm prosperity and rising farm prices, with the unprecedented wartime demand for American farm products providing strong stimulus to production. Farmers had opened up poor lands long allowed to remain idle or never before cultivated. As the money value of American farms doubled and in some areas tripled, farmers began to buy goods and machinery they had never been able to afford before. But by the end of 1920, with the abrupt cessation of wartime demand, the commercial agriculture of staple crops fell into a sharp decline. When the general depression came in the 1930s, it merely aggravated a condition already serious.

AMERICA IN THE 1920s

Many things accounted for the depression in American agriculture, but pre-eminent was the loss of foreign markets. American farmers could not easily sell in areas where the United States was not buying goods because of its own import tariffs. The doors of the world market were slowly swinging shut.

Restriction of immigration during the 1920s marked a significant change in American policy. During the first 15 years of the 20th century, over 13 million people had come to the United States. For some time, public sentiment against unrestricted immigration had been growing. The United States no longer

thought of itself as having a great internal empire to settle, and it was no longer willing to accept vast hordes of immigrants. This sentiment expressed itself in a series of measures culminating in the Immigration Quota Law of 1924 and a 1929 Act. These limited the annual number of immigrants to 150,000, to be distributed among peoples of various nationalities in proportion to the number of their countrymen already in the United States in 1920. Thus, immigration was made selective, since the stream now largely came from southern and eastern Europe instead of from the north and west. By drastically limiting numbers, the measure curbed one of the great population movements of world history, a process three centuries old.

As immigration slowed to a mere trickle, a small but significant movement of Americans to Europe was taking place. The emigrés were writers and intellectuals; dissatisfied with the United States as a home for art and thought, they emigrated chiefly to Paris.

American culture in the eyes of critics at home and abroad was both materialistic and puritanical. Symbolizing the puritanism of the period was the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. After almost a century of agitation, this prohibition had finally been imposed in 1919 by the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Prohibition was intended to eliminate the saloon and the drunkard from America; instead, it created thousands of illicit drinking places and opened a profitable criminal career to bootleggers. Widely violated, prohibition was morally hypocritical and, to many Americans, comparable to the widespread political corruption of the Harding era.

Relentless criticism became the dominant note in American literature. H. L. Mencken, a journalist and critic, who was unsparing in denouncing sham and venality in American life, became immensely popular. Perhaps no serious novelist had a wider audience than Sinclair Lewis, whose satires on American middle-class life in such novels as *Main Street* and *Babbitt* became landmarks in the national consciousness. It is ironic that these criticisms of America by Americans were made when the nation was experiencing a high point of general well-being.

During the 1920s it seemed as if prosperity would go on forever; even after the stock market crash in the fall of 1929, optimistic predictions continued to come from [illegible] plac[illegible] the depression deepened, millions of investo

business houses closed their doors, factories shut down, banks failed, and millions of unemployed walked the streets in a hopeless search for work. In American national life there had been nothing, except the long-forgotten depression of the 1870s, to compare with this.

ROOSEVELT BATTLES DEPRESSION

As the people rallied from the initial shock and began seeking explanations, they noted unhealthy trends that had gone unobserved beneath the prosperous facade of the 1920s. The core of the problem had been the immense disparity between the country's productive power and the American people's ability to consume. Great innovations in productive techniques during and after the war raised the output of American industry beyond the purchasing capacity of American farmers and wage-earners. The savings of the wealthy and middle classes, increasing far beyond the possibilities of sound investment, had been drawn into frantic speculation in stocks or real estate. The stock market collapse, therefore, had been merely the first of several detonations in which a flimsy structure of speculation had been leveled to the ground.

The presidential campaign of 1932 was chiefly a debate over the causes and possible remedies of the great depression. Herbert oover, unlucky in entering the White House only eight months ore the stock market crash, had struggled tirelessly to set the ieels of industry in motion again, but constrained by a traditional conception of the federal government's proper role, he could take no drastic action. His Democratic opponent, Franklin D. Roosevelt, already popular as governor of New York state during the developing crisis, argued that the depression stemmed from the American economy's underlying flaws, which had been aggravated by Republican policies during the 1920s. President Hoover replied that the American economy was fundamentally sound but had been shaken by the repercussions of a worldwide depression, whose causes could be traced back to the world war. Behind this argument lay a clear implication: Hoover preferred largely to depend on natural processes of recovery, while Roosevelt was prepared to use the federal government's authority for bold experimental remedies. The election resulted in a smashing victory for Roosevelt, who won 22,800,000 votes to Hoover's 15,700,000.

NEW DEAL BRINGS SOCIAL REFORMS

The new President brought an air of cheerful confidence that quickly rallied the people to his banner. Before long, the complex of reforms known as the New Deal was well on its way. In a certain sense, it can be said that the New Deal merely introduced into the United States types of reform familiar to Englishmen, Germans, and Scandinavians for more than a generation. Moreover, the New Deal represented the culmination of a long-range trend toward abandonment of *laissez faire,* going back to the regulation of the railroads in the 1880s and the flood of state and national reform legislation of the Theodore Roosevelt-Wilson era.

What was truly novel about the New Deal was the speed with which it accomplished what elsewhere had taken whole generations. Many of the reforms were hastily drawn and weakly administered; some actually contradicted others.

During the entire New Deal period, despite its speed in decision and execution, public criticism and discussion were never interrupted or suspended; in fact, the New Deal brought to the individual citizen a sharp revival of interest in government.

When Roosevelt took the presidential oath, the banking and credit system of the nation was in a state of paralysis. With astonishing rapidity the banks were reopened, and a policy of moderate currency inflation was adopted in order to start an upward movement in commodity prices and to afford some relief to debtors. New governmental agencies brought generous credit facilities to industry and agriculture. Savings-bank deposits up to $5,000 were insured, and severe regulations were imposed upon the sale of securities on the stock exchange.

In agriculture, far-reaching reforms were instituted. Following the Supreme Court nullification of the Agricultural Adjustment Act three years after its passage, Congress passed a more effective farm-relief act, providing that the government make money payments to farmers who would devote part of their land to soil-conserving crops or otherwise cooperate in long-range agricultural goals. By 1940, nearly six million farmers were receiving federal subsidies under this program. The new act likewise provided loans on surplus crops, insurance for wheat, and a system of planned storage to ensure an "ever-normal granary." Soon, prices of agricultural commodities rose, and economic stability for the farmer began to seem possible.

Another goal of the New Deal was to bring independence to farm tenants. The federal government set up the Farm Security Administration to subsidize the purchase of farms for tenants on easy terms, and it refinanced farm loans, bringing relief to the holders of farm mortgages. Simultaneously, Secretary of State Cordell Hull was attempting to restore some foreign markets by reciprocity agreements designed to break down the economic autarky created by high tariffs. Under the Trade Agreements Act of June 1934, Secretary Hull negotiated unconditional most-favored-nation reciprocity treaties with Canada, Cuba, France, Russia, and some 20 other countries. Within a year, American trade had improved materially, and by 1939 farm income was more than double what it had been seven years before.

The New Deal program for industry went through an experimental phase in the opening years of the Roosevelt Administration. In 1933 a National Recovery Administration (NRA) was set up, based essentially upon the idea that the crisis could be resolved by limiting production and fixing higher prices; but even before the NRA was declared unconstitutional in May 1935, it was widely considered unsuccessful. By this time other policies were fostering recovery, and the administration soon took the position that administered prices in certain lines of business were a severe drain on the national economy and a barrier to recovery.

As progress toward recovery continued, the federal government spent thousands of millions of dollars for relief of the unemployed, for public works, and for the conservation of national resources. These "pump-priming" expenditures created new demands at home for the products of American industry.

It was during the New Deal that organized labor made greater gains than at any previous time in American history. Section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Administration Act had guaranteed to labor the right of collective bargaining, and in July 1935, to replace the labor provisions of the defunct NRA, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act, which set up a labor board to supervise collective bargaining, administer elections, and assure workers the right to choose the organization that should represent them in dealing with employers.

Great progress was made in labor organization. The American Federation of Labor, with its principle of craft unionism, was slow to organize the unorganized, and some of the dissatisfied mass unions broke away and formed the Congress of Industrial

Organizations (CIO). A successful organizing drive by the CIO, particularly in basic industries like automobiles and steel, spurred the AFL to competitive action. Whereas there had been 4 million organized workers in 1929, there were 11 million in 1939 and 16 million in 1948.

Organization brought a growing sense of common political interests, and labor's power increased not only in industry but also in politics. This power was exercised largely within the framework of the two major parties, and although the Democratic Party generally received more union support than the Republican Party, no labor party as such emerged.

SOCIAL SECURITY ENACTED

The threat of old-age unemployment and dependency, long a subject of public discussion, led to passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, assuring modest retirement allowances at the age of 65 to many kinds of workers. An insurance fund for this purpose was built up by contributions from workers and employers. The states, with funds provided by a compulsory federal payroll tax, were to administer unemployment compensation for active workers of all ages. By 1938, every state had some form of unemployment insurance.

Recurrent droughts in the 1930s led to the enactment of an Omnibus Flood Control Bill, which provided for a series of large reservoirs and power dams and thousands of smaller dams. To combat soil erosion, particularly on the plains of the midwest resulting from misuse of the nation's abundant natural resources, a gigantic program of soil conservation was undertaken, including the planting of trees. Other important work involved the elimination of stream pollution; the creation of fish, game, and bird sanctuaries; the conservation of coal, petroleum, shale, gas, sodium, and helium deposits; the closure of certain grazing lands to homestead entries; and a vast increase in national forests.

Of all these undertakings, the one of greatest future importance was perhaps the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which became a comprehensive laboratory for social and economic experimentation. In addition to major dams in three states along the Tennessee River, a number of tributary dams were constructed. These were used not only for improving navigation, flood control, and nitrate production, but also for generating

electric power. The government constructed some 8,000 kilometers of transmission lines and sold power to nearby communities at rates sufficiently low to permit widespread consumption. Rural electrification was financed by a TVA subsidiary. The TVA also withdrew marginal lands from cultivation, helped farmers find new farmland, conducted agricultural experiments, particularly in the use of phosphate fertilizer, and promoted public health and recreational facilities.

OTHER NEW DEAL PROGRAMS

New Deal efforts were carried on, generally, against vehement criticism, not only from the Republican Party but often from within the Democratic Party itself. Nevertheless, in the 1936 election, Roosevelt won an even more decisive victory over his Republican opponent (this time Governor Alfred E. Landon of Kansas) than in 1932.

From 1932 to 1938 there was widespread public debate on the meaning of New Deal policies to the nation's political and economic life. It became obvious that the American conception of government was changing, that greater governmental responsibility for the people's welfare was winning increasing acceptance. Some New Deal critics argued that the indefinite extension of governmental functions would end in undermining all the liberties of the people. President Roosevelt insisted that measures fostering economic well-being would strengthen liberty and democracy.

In a radio address in 1938, Roosevelt reminded the American people: "Democracy has disappeared in several other great nations, not because the people of those nations disliked democracy, but because they had grown tired of unemployment and insecurity, of seeing their children hungry while they sat helpless in the face of government confusion and government weakness through lack of leadership in government. Finally, in desperation, they chose to sacrifice liberty in the hope of getting something to eat. We in America know that our democratic institutions can be preserved and made to work. But in order to preserve them we need...to prove that the practical operation of democratic government is equal to the task of protecting the security of the people.... The people of America are in agreement in defending their liberties at any cost, and the first line of the defense lies in the protection of economic security."

Before Roosevelt's second term was well under way, his domestic program was overshadowed by a new danger—little noted by the average American—posed by the expansionist designs of totalitarian regimes in Japan, Italy, and Germany. Early in the 1930s, the first of these nations struck. In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria and crushed Chinese resistance; a year later she set up the puppet state of Manchukuo. Italy, having succumbed to Fascism, enlarged her boundaries in Libya and in 1935-36 reduced Ethiopia to subjection. Germany, where Adolf Hitler had organized his National Socialist Party and seized the reins of government, reoccupied the Rhineland and undertook large-scale rearmament.

DICTATORSHIPS UNLEASH WORLD WAR II

As the real nature of totalitarianism became clear, and as Germany, Italy, and Japan continued their aggression, American apprehension turned to indignation. In 1938, after Hitler had incorporated Austria into the German Reich, his demands for the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia made war seem possible at any moment in Europe. The American people, disillusioned by the failure of the crusade for democracy in World War I, announced that in no circumstances could any belligerent look to them for aid. Neutrality legislation, enacted piecemeal from 1935 to 1937, prohibited trade with or credit to any belligerent. The objective was to prevent, at almost any cost, the involvement of the United States in a non-American war.

Both President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull had, from the first, opposed such legislation. The President, who had done much to strengthen the American navy refused to recognize the puppet state of Manchukuo. Together with Hull he had made significant progress in establishing solidarity among nations of the western hemisphere through the good neighbor policy. When the Hull reciprocal trade treaties were reaffirmed in 1935, the United States concluded treaties with six Latin American nations, pledging the signatories to recognize no territorial changes effected by force.

As Hitler thundered against Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France, the American spirit hardened. Although the first impulse of Americans had been to stay out of the European conflict, events finally forced the conviction that a

combination of powers that threatened Europe's security threatened that of the United States as well.

The fall of France, demonstrating the might of the Nazi military machine, strengthened the conviction. When the air attack upon Britain began in the summer of 1940, few Americans were any longer neutral in thought. The United States joined Canada in a Mutual Board of Defense, and aligned with the Latin American republics in extending collective protection to the possessions of the democratic nations in the western hemisphere. Congress, confronted with the mounting crisis, voted immense sums for rearmament, and, in September 1940 voted the first peacetime conscription bill ever enacted in the United States.

The 1940 presidential election campaign demonstrated overwhelming American unity. Roosevelt's opponent, Wendell Willkie, lacked a compelling issue since he supported the President's foreign policy, and also agreed with a large part of Roosevelt's domestic program. Thus the November election yielded another majority for Roosevelt. For the first time in American history, a President was elected to a third term.

While most Americans anxiously watched the course of the European war, tension mounted in Asia. Taking advantage of an opportunity to improve her strategic position, Japan boldly announced a "new order" in which she would exercise hegemony over all the Pacific lands. Helpless to resist, Britain receded, withdrawing from Shanghai and temporarily closing the Burma Road. In the summer of 1940, Japan won from the weak Vichy government permission to use airfields in French Indochina. As a countermove the United States, after the Japanese had joined the Rome-Berlin Axis in September, imposed an embargo on export of scrap iron to Japan.

U. S. ENTERS THE WAR

By 1940, it seemed that the Japanese might turn southward toward the oil, tin, and rubber of British Malaya and the Netherlands Indies. In July 1941, when the Vichy government permitted the Japanese to occupy the remainder of Indochina, the United States froze Japanese assets. On November 19, after General Tojo's government had taken office in Japan, a special envoy, Saburo Kurusu, arrived in the United States and announced that he sought a peaceful understanding. On December 6 President

Roosevelt responded with a personal appeal for peace to the Japanese Emperor. On the morning of December 7 the Japanese answer came—a shower of bombs on the American fleet and defense installations at Pearl Harbor.

As the details of the Japanese raids upon Hawaii, Midway, Wake, and Guam blared from American radios, incredulity turned to anger at what President Roosevelt called the "unprovoked and dastardly" attack. On December 8 Congress declared a state of war with Japan; three days later Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

On December 9, when President Roosevelt delivered his war message to the American people, he reminded them: "The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force should be directed towards ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers—we are builders."

The nation rapidly geared itself for mobilization of its manpower and its entire industrial capacity. On January 6, 1942, President Roosevelt announced staggering production goals: delivery in that year of 60,000 planes, 45,000 tanks, 20,000 antiaircraft guns, and 18 million deadweight tons of merchant shipping. All the nation's activities—farming, manufacturing, mining, trade, labor, investment, communications, even education and cultural undertakings—were in some fashion brought under new and enlarged controls. Money was raised in enormous sums; great new industries were created; striking new techniques were developed, as in the mass production of ships and planes; major movements of population took place. Under a series of conscription acts, the armed forces of the United States were brought up to a total of 15,100,000. By the end of 1943, approximately 65 million men and women were in uniform or in war-related occupations.

Soon after the United States entered the war, the western Allies decided that their essential military effort was to be concentrated in Europe, where the core of enemy power lay, while the Pacific theater was to be secondary. Nevertheless, in 1942, the Pacific—where the navy kept its carrier-borne aircraft—saw some of the first important American successes.

In May 1942, heavy Japanese losses in the battle of the Coral Sea forced the Japanese navy to give up the idea of striking at Australia, and in June carrier planes inflicted severe damage on

a Japanese flotilla off Midway Island. In August, unified army-navy action brought an American landing on Guadalcanal and another naval victory, the battle of the Bismarck Sea. The almost incredible growth of the navy, a result of intensified shipyard production, gave hope of further victories.

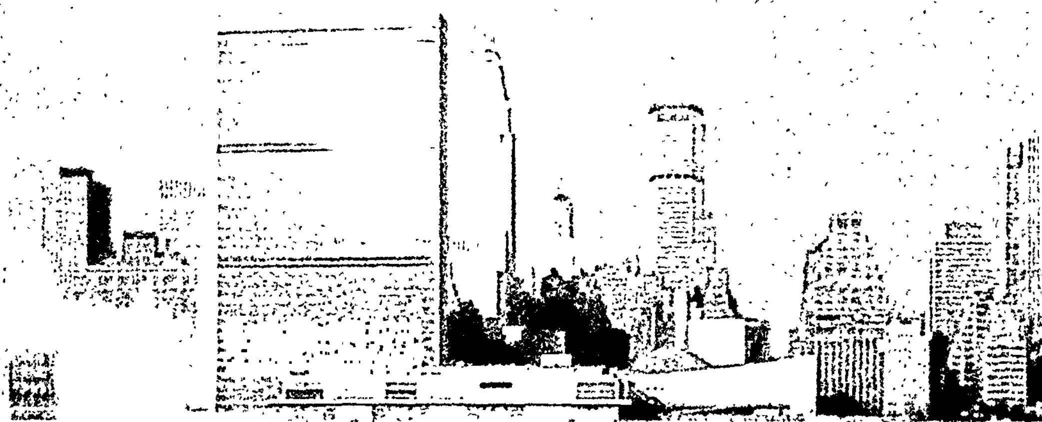
ALLIES DEFEAT AXIS POWERS

In the meantime, military supplies had begun to flow to the European theater. In the spring and summer of 1942, British forces were able to break the German drive aimed at Egypt and push German General Erwin Rommel back into Tripoli, ending the threat to Suez.

On November 7, 1942, an American army landed in French North Africa, and after hard-fought battles, inflicted severe defeats on Italian and German armies; 349,000 prisoners were taken, and by midsummer of 1943 the south shore of the Mediterranean was cleared of Fascist forces. In September, the new Italian government under Marshal Badoglio signed an armistice, and in October, Italy declared war on Germany. While battles were still raging in Italy, Allied forces made devastating air raids on German railroads, factories, and weapon emplacements. Deep in the continent, German oil supplies were hit at Ploesti in Rumania.

Late in 1943 the Allies, after much debate over strategy, opened a western front to force the Germans to divert far larger forces from the Russian front than could be engaged in Italy. General Dwight D. Eisenhower was appointed Supreme Commander. After immense preparations, on June 6, while a Soviet counteroffensive was under way, the first contingents of an American and British invasion army, protected by a greatly superior air force, landed on the beaches of Normandy. The beachhead was held, more troops were poured in, and many contingents of German defenders were caught in pockets by pincer movements. Then the Allied armies began to move across France and into Germany, making their way against the most tenacious defense.

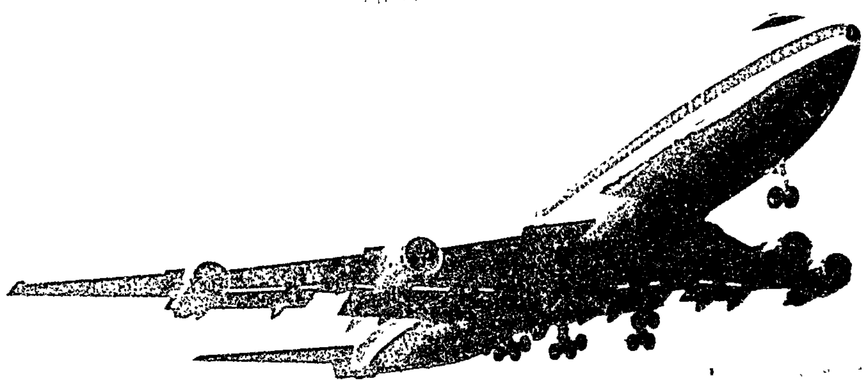
On August 25 Paris was retaken. At the gates of Germany the Allies were delayed by stubborn counteraction, but in February and March 1945, troops were advancing into Germany from the west, and German armies were reeling before the Russians in the east. On May 8 all that remained of the Third Reich surrendered its land, sea, and air forces.



... Nations embodies men's hope for peace.

... Nations as the war ended, great ... devel-

… fast is 170 miles … per hour
… cruises at 625 miles (1,000 km) …



In the meantime, great progress had been made by American forces in the Pacific. As American and Australian troops fought their way northward along the island ladder through the Solomons, New Britain, New Guinea, and Bougainville, the growing naval forces gnawed away at Japanese supply lines.

THE WAR ENDS

October 1944 brought a naval victory in the Philippine Sea. Further action on Iwo Jima and Okinawa suggested that Japan might long resist despite the ultimate hopelessness of the Japanese position. In August, after atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the war was brought to an abrupt end. Japan formally surrendered on September 2, 1945.

Allied military efforts were accompanied by a series of important international meetings on the political objectives of the war. The first of these took place in August 1941 between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill at a time when the United States was not yet actively engaged in the struggle and the military situation of Britain and Russia seemed bleak.

Meeting aboard cruisers near Newfoundland, Roosevelt and Churchill issued a statement of purposes—the Atlantic Charter—in which they endorsed these objectives: no territorial aggrandizement; no territorial changes without the consent of the people concerned; the right of all people to choose their own form of government; the restoration of self-government to those deprived of it; economic collaboration between all nations; freedom from war, from fear, and from want for all peoples; freedom of the seas; and the abandonment of the use of force as an instrument of international policy.

In January 1943 at Casablanca, an Anglo-American conference decided that no peace would be concluded with the Axis and its Balkan satellites except on terms of "unconditional surrender." The term, insisted upon by Roosevelt, sought to assure the people of all the fighting nations that no peace negotiations would be carried on with representatives of Fascism and Nazism; that no bargain of any kind would be made by such representatives to save any remnant of their power; that before final peace terms could be laid down to the peoples of Germany, Italy, and Japan, their military overlords must concede before the entire world their own complete and utter defeat.

In August 1943 at Quebec, an Anglo-American conference discussed plans for action against Japan and other aspects of military and diplomatic strategy; two months later, the foreign ministers of Britain, the United States, and Russia met in Moscow. They reaffirmed the unconditional surrender policy; called for an end to Italian Fascism and the restoration of Austria's independence; and, in the interest of peace, endorsed future postwar collaboration among the Allied powers.

At Cairo, on November 22, 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Chiang Kai-shek to agree on terms for Japan, including the relinquishment of gains from past aggression. At Tehran on November 28, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin reaffirmed the terms of the Moscow conference and called for a lasting peace through the agency of the United Nations. Almost two years later, in February 1945, they met at Yalta, with victory seemingly secure, and made further agreements. Russia secretly agreed to enter the war against Japan not long after the surrender of Germany. The eastern boundary of Poland was set roughly at the Curzon line of 1919. After some discussion of heavy reparations in kind to be collected from Germany—payment demanded by Stalin and opposed by Roosevelt and Churchill—the decision was deferred. Specific arrangements were made concerning Allied occupation in Germany and the trial and punishment of war criminals. And the principles of the Atlantic Charter were reaffirmed with reference to the people of liberated areas.

Also at Yalta it was agreed that the powers in the Security Council of the United Nations should have the right of veto in matters affecting their security. After much difference of opinion, in which Roosevelt was ranged against Stalin and Churchill, it was agreed that all the powers would support the Soviet Union's demand for two additional votes in the United Nations Assembly, based on the great populations of the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Two months after his return from Yalta, Franklin D. Roosevelt died of a cerebral hemorrhage while vacationing in Georgia. Few figures in American history have been so deeply mourned, and for a time the American people suffered from a numbing sense of irreparable loss. Meanwhile, Vice President Harry S Truman, having assumed the Presidency, began a period of effective leadership, continuing to work for the essential objectives of the New Deal's foreign and domestic policies.

On May 7, 1945, Germany surrendered. In July, Britain,

the United States, and the Soviet Union met at Potsdam to formulate an occupation policy and set up a program for the future of Germany. It was agreed that sufficient industrial capacity should be left Germany for the maintenance of an ample peacetime economy but that no surplus should be available to permit Germany to rebuild a war machine. Known Nazis were to be tried, and if trials established that they had taken part in the criminal slaughter called for in the Nazi plan, they were to suffer the death penalty.

The conference agreed on the need to assist in the reeducation of a German generation reared under Nazism and to define the broad principles governing the restoration of democratic political life to the country. The conferees also discussed the reparations claims against Germany and provided for the removal of industrial plants and property by the Soviet Union from the Russian-controlled zone, as well as some additional property from the western zones. But the Russian claim, already raised at Yalta, for reparations totaling $10,000 million remained a subject of controversy.

In November 1945 at Nuremberg, the criminal trials that were provided for at Potsdam took place. Before a group of distinguished jurists from Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States, the German leaders were accused not only of plotting and waging aggressive war but also of violating the laws of war and of humanity. The trials lasted more than 10 months and resulted in the conviction of all but three of the defendants.

AMERICA IN THE WORLD

"To the peoples and the governments of all friendly nations—and I hope that could encompass the whole world—I pledge an uninterrupted and sincere search for peace."

Gerald R. Ford

Inaugural Address: August 9, 1974

On April 25, with the war in Europe in its final days, representatives of 50 nations met at San Francisco to erect the framework of the United Nations. The constitution they drafted outlined a world organization in which international differences could be discussed peacefully and common cause made against hunger and disease. In contrast to its rejection of United States membership in the League of Nations after World War I, the United States Senate promptly ratified the U.N. Charter by an 89 to 2 vote. This action confirmed the end of the spirit of isolationism as an important element in American foreign policy and signalled to the world that the United States intended to play a major role in international affairs.

After Japan's surrender in August 1945, the American people turned their major interests to domestic matters, the first of which was the reintegration into civilian life of millions of returning servicemen. Within two years the number of persons in uniform fell from 12 million to one-and-one-half million. Enactment of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (popularly known as the "G.I. Bill of Rights") eased the transition from

military to civilian life by providing government loans to enable veterans to buy homes, operate businesses or farms, and obtain on-the-job training. The Act also financed the college education of over two million veterans.

The American economy adjusted from war to peace without serious unemployment. Pent-up demand for consumer goods, created by wartime scarcity, high wages, and accumulated savings, combined with an increasing population to stimulate industrial expansion. Between 1945 and 1948, the number of employed workers rose from 54 million to more than 61 million, while wages, despite postwar inflation, likewise registered significant gains.

Prosperity brought new problems. Builders could not construct sufficient housing to satisfy the demand, nor could automobile manufacturers keep pace with new orders. Prices rose rapidly, generating fears of runaway inflation, but by 1948 settled down when the supply of goods more nearly equaled demand.

Rising prices prompted many labor unions to demand higher wages, and in 1946, when their demands were not met, more than 4,500,000 workers engaged in strikes. The next year Congress enacted the Taft-Hartley Act—strongly opposed by labor leaders—requiring a 60-day notice before either a union or an employer could end a contract, permitting management to sue union officials for violation of contract, and limiting certain union privileges contained in existing contracts. Despite these restrictions, labor continued to win higher wages along with increased security through retirement pensions and health insurance financed by employers.

A problem of transcendent national importance was the development and control of atomic energy. In July 1946, Congress gave this responsibility to an Atomic Energy Commission headed by five civilians. Under the Commission's supervision, American scientists developed and made available to other nations many peaceful applications of atomic knowledge for agriculture, industry, and medicine.

President Truman's unexpected but decisive victory in the election of 1948, over Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey, encouraged him to press for "Fair Deal" reforms. Although Congress rejected parts of this program, much of it became law. Congress extended Social Security coverage to an additional 10 million persons and raised (from 40 to 75 cents an hour) the minimum wage for workers in industries whose products crossed

state lines. In 1949 Congress adopted a federal program of slum clearance and low-rental housing. Farmers, meanwhile, gained additional federal protection against such threats as floods, droughts, and falling prices.

At the end of World War II most Americans envisioned that the wartime cooperation between the Soviet Union and the western democracies would continue in the building of a secure and peaceful world. The United States played an active role in creating and financing several United Nations agencies dedicated to economic reconstruction and the alleviation of suffering in wartorn areas of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Perhaps the two best known were the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the International Monetary Fund. Large quantities of American aid went to needy peoples in Communist as well as non-Communist countries. But Communist takeovers in eastern Europe and agitation by Communist parties elsewhere, and the United States commitment to its worldwide role, brought about increasing international tension.

U.S. URGES INTERNATIONAL ATOM CONTROL

Meanwhile, recognizing that the spread of atomic weapons could endanger the very existence of mankind, the United States sought international agreement on control of the atom bomb. This dread weapon had been developed by the United States during World War II after scientists established that the Germans had been trying to create such a bomb. It was used in order to hasten Japan's surrender as an alternative to a massive invasion of the Japanese islands with the probability of more than a million casualties on both sides.

In June 1946, U.S. delegate to the United Nations Bernard Baruch presented a proposal to its Atomic Energy Commission calling for the outlawing of atomic weapons and the international control of all atomic materials. As the only nation in possession of the bomb at the time, the United States offered to destroy its stock of bombs and reveal all its nuclear secrets. The Baruch Plan, as it was called, had one condition: that the international agency exercising authority for inspection and enforcement not be subject to veto by any single nation.

The U.S. proposal, supported in principle by nine of the ten voting members of the Commission, was vetoed by the Soviet

Union. The Soviet counterproposal, while also calling upon all nations to renounce atomic weapons, did not provide an inspection system to uncover violations or an enforcement system to punish violators. Similar differences on the questions of inspection and the veto were to stalemate later conferences on general disarmament. Meanwhile, both countries developed more destructive weapons.

In the United States, concern mounted as the Soviet Union used its troops in eastern Europe to help minority Communist parties destroy or infiltrate non-Communist groups and install pro-Soviet governments. Within three years of the war's end, Communist-dominated regimes were in control of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany.

In the spring of 1947, the danger of further Communist expansion was dramatized by Soviet support of Communist guerrillas in Greece and by Soviet threats against Turkey's control of the Dardanelles. President Truman appeared before Congress to declare that "it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." Congress supported this policy, which became known as the "Truman Doctrine," with an initial authorization of $400 million for economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey. Within two years Greece restored domestic order and Turkey reaffirmed its territorial integrity; the Soviet Union had lost its drive to the Mediterranean.

U.S. SEEKS SPEEDY END TO COLONIALISM

In several areas of the world the United States demonstrated hostility to colonialism and support of self-determination. A year after the end of World War II, President Truman proclaimed the full independence of the Philippines. The following year Congress authorized the Puerto Ricans to elect their own governor as a step toward becoming a self-governing commonwealth in 1952, associated with the United States on the basis of common citizenship.

American leaders encouraged Great Britain in its decision to grant independence to India, Pakistan, and Burma, and served as mediators to expedite the independence of Indonesia from Dutch rule. In 1949 President Truman advanced his "Point

Four" program to speed U.S. technical and financial assistance to the newly developing areas of the world. Under this program, American specialists in agriculture, education, public health, housing, and many other fields provided help and advice to countries throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

As numerous new nations emerged on those continents, the war-ravaged countries of Europe suffered severe economic difficulties. In a speech at Harvard University early in June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall suggested a sweeping program to restore the economies of Europe. The "Marshall Plan" offered American money, supplies, and machinery to any European nation that wished to participate. (Although they were included in the offer, the U.S.S.R. and the east European nations in the Soviet orbit declined to take part.)

Launched in April 1948, this massive program of American aid, involving $12,000 million in goods and services, helped bring rapid economic recovery to 16 countries from Iceland to Turkey. In less than three years industrial production rose to 25 per cent above prewar levels and agricultural output to 14 per cent above prewar farm production.

Even as the Marshall Plan was getting under way, a critical situation developed in Berlin. In February 1948, France, Britain, and the United States consolidated their occupation zones of Germany and of Berlin (175 kilometers inside the Soviet zone of Germany). When the Allies announced a currency reform to integrate the economies of their three zones and to bring the combined economy into close relationship with western Europe, the Soviet Union retaliated by first restricting and then totally blocking road and rail traffic between Berlin and West Germany.

The British-American answer to this Soviet challenge was the Berlin airlift. Starting in the summer of 1948 and continuing for nearly a year, British and American planes transported more than two million tons of food, fuel, medicines, and other necessities to the people of West Berlin. The Soviets finally lifted the blockade in May 1949.

The Berlin crisis, following the expansion of Soviet influence in east Europe and the threats against Greece and Turkey, aroused growing alarm throughout western Europe. As a consequence, in April 1949, 12 nations established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to coordinate the military defenses of member nations against possible Soviet aggression.

Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States—with Greece, Turkey, and the Federal Republic of Germany joining afterward—agreed to consider an armed attack against any one of them as an attack against all. In December 1950, the NATO countries appointed General Dwight D. Eisenhower Supreme Commander of their military forces.

United States involvement in international affairs during the Truman Administration was not confined to Europe. In 1948 the United States joined 21 Latin American nations to form the Organization of American States (OAS), designed to insure peaceful settlement of inter-American disputes, to promote economic and social development in Latin America, and to provide for common action against aggression. The OAS was the successor to several other inter-American groupings, the first of which had come into existence in 1889, inspired by Simon Bolivar, the 19th century Venezuelan patriot.

In the Middle East, when the creation of the independent Jewish nation of Israel in May 1948 plunged that new counrty into war with its Arab neighbors, the United States supported the successful efforts of a U.N. truce team to arrange an armistice. For his work as head of this team, Dr. Ralph Bunche, the grandson of an American slave, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950.

FIGHTING AGGRESSION IN KOREA

During the final years of President Truman's term of office, events in Asia dominated America's international concerns. As a result of a World War II agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union took trusteeship possession of Korea with the 38th parallel dividing the Soviet zone in the north from the American zone in the south. In 1948, a government fashioned after the Soviet model was established in the north while the United States recognized the Republic of Korea whose government had been chosen in an election supervised by the United Nations. By mid-1949, the United States had removed the bulk of its troops. On June 25, 1950, the North Korean army crossed the 38th parallel and attacked South Korea.

An emergency meeting of the United Nations Securi Council declared the attack a breach of the peace, demand

...e withdrawal, termed North Korea an "aggressor," ... upon United Nations members to furnish all possible as... to South Korea. The United States, which felt a special ...sibility toward beleaguered South Korea, quickly dispatched ...d ground forces. These were followed by soldiers from 15 nations and material aid from 49 countries. A United Na... Command was established, and for the first time in history ...organized international force was fighting aggression. These ...N. actions were possible because the Soviet Union's representa...e to the Security Council had for some time been boycotting ...eetings and was not present to exercise a veto.

The course of the Korean War was bitter, bloody, and frus...trating. After initial setbacks, the U.N. forces gradually took the offensive and drove the invaders back. The end of the fighting seemed near until the People's Republic of China put more than 200,000 troops into action against the U.N. forces. This intervention threatened to extend the conflict beyond the borders of Korea, but the U.N. Command—unwilling to risk sparking a far greater conflagration—settled upon a limited war for limited objectives. In time, the North Koreans were driven back to a line roughly corresponding to the 38th parallel.

After long negotiations a truce was arranged in the summe... of 1953, recognizing the facts of the battlefield. By the war'... end, the U.S. had sent a quarter of a million men half way arou... the world and had left more than 30,000 dead soldiers as te...mony of its determination to defend independent nations aga... aggression.

THE EISENHOWER YEARS

In November 1952, the American people voted a R...lican President into office, breaking the Democratic Part... year hold on the Presidency. The successful candidate, ... Dwight D. Eisenhower, defeated the Democratic candidat... E. Stevenson, by a decisive margin; he repeated the vic... years later. Despite a Republican in the While House, ...ocratic Party controlled Congress for six of the ei... Eisenhower served as President.

On domestic issues the Eisenhower Administratio... a policy described as "modern Republicanism." One ... this policy was the effort to limit government interfe...

affairs of states and in private business. Nevertheless, the Administration retained all of the social and economic legislation developed during the New Deal-Fair Deal era, and actually expanded federal programs in such fields as social security, support for education, public housing, slum clearance, and public health.

Shortly after he took office in January 1953, President Eisenhower approved the transformation of the Federal Security Agency into the Cabinet-level Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He also supported congressional action in raising the minimum wage from 75 cents to a dollar an hour.

In 1955, the two largest trade-union federations (the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations) ended their long rivalry by merger. The newly-formed AFL-CIO claimed 15 million members and thereby contributed to the popular image of "big labor." Evidence of corrupt practices in some unions led the new organization to adopt a strict ethical-practice code. Congress, meanwhile, passed a law requiring full public disclosure of union finances, particularly in relation to pensions and welfare funds, and guaranteeing union members their democratic rights.

Other domestic problems proved less amenable to solution. New advances in agricultural technology intensified the problem of over-large farm production in relation to national demand. The Eisenhower Administration replaced the existing policy of guaranteeing farmers fixed prices with a flexible scale intended to encourage farmers to grow crops that were not in surplus. In addition, a "soil bank" program paid farmers to let their land lie fallow, to plant trees, or to adopt other conservation measures.

The Eisenhower years saw continued progress toward f[illegible] political, social and legal rights for black Americans. It [illegible] this period that the nation was suddenly confronted [illegible] that post-Civil War commitments to equal opportu[illegible] had been virtually forgotten; that, in spite of spora[illegible] improve the lot of America's largest minority, blacks m[illegible] experienced discrimination in education, housing and [illegible] ment; that in the south, they were denied economic r[illegible] restrictions were put on their ability to rent or own la[illegible] that they lived in a segregated society which extended [illegible] roads, street cars, parks, hotels, schools, hospitals, even cem[illegible]

Not until late in the 1930s was there a noticeable a

rovide a form of equality. It was then that some blacks found aces in the government and federal money was allocated for recreational centers, schools and hospitals for blacks. This new trend gathered momentum during World War II when President Roosevelt, encouraged by black labor leader A. Philip Randolph, ordered an end to discrimination in production under war contracts. After the war, President Truman established a civil rights commission, ordered the military services desegregated, and appointed an increasing number of blacks to federal office. The two most important professional baseball leagues and the most important professional basketball league, meanwhile, began to employ blacks.

During the 1950s more blacks than ever before went to college, voted in elections, owned their own homes and automobiles, held professional or supervisory jobs, and occupied high posts in government, although the per cent of blacks in each of these categories was noticeably less than their per cent of the country's total population. The outstanding development in civil rights during this period was the unanimous Supreme Court decision of 1954 which ruled that state or local laws requiring separate schools for black and white children were unconstitutional. Since public schools in most states were not formally segregated, this ruling was applied mainly to southern states with a long tradition of racial segregation. Toward such areas the Supreme Court *instructed federal district courts to require local* school authorities to "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" and to move "with all deliberate speed."

School desegregation proceeded rapidly in the District of Columbia and some border states but met strong opposition in the deep south. Dispatch of federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957, after violence had broken out over the issue, reflected the government's resolve to enforce court orders for school desegregation. And granting full statehood in 1959 to Alaska and Hawaii, with their racially diverse populations, provided further evidence of progress toward social as well as political democracy.

Between 1950 and 1960, Americans in general enjoyed a rising standard of living. Despite a temporary increase in unemployment after the 1957-58 recession, wages continued to rise, business gained momentum, and optimism prevailed. The gross national product—the value of all goods and services provided in

the nation—rose from $285,000 million in 1950 to almost $504,000 million in 1960.

President Eisenhower's first administration had opened on a hopeful note. In July 1953, North Korea, faced with a military stalemate, signed an armistice with the U.N. Command agreeing formally to recognize the division of Korea and providing for an exchange of prisoners. Some 20,000 North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war, in the presence of Indian observers, refused to return to their homelands.

The Korean armistice did not end the troubles in Asia. By the spring of 1954 a coalition of Vietnamese Communists and nationalists clearly was winning its eight-year war against France's attempt to maintain its colonial rule over Indochina. From May to July representatives of France, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States, and several Asian nations met at Geneva to discuss ending the fighting. The conferees divided what had been called French Indochina into three nations: Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam—with Vietnam temporarily divided at the 17th parallel into northern and southern administrative districts pending unification elections scheduled for July 1956. In its final declaration the conference recognized the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

U.S. SUPPORTS ASIAN INDEPENDENCE

To help defend independent Asian nations against attack, the U.S. in September 1954, joined with Thailand, the Philippines, Pakistan, Great Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand to establish the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. SEATO, as this mutual-assistance pact was called, provided for economic cooperation, technical assistance, and collective action against aggression or subversion. An attached clause extended the original treaty provisions for protection and economic aid to Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam.

Recognizing that American security and welfare were directly related to the economic and social advancement of people in newly developing areas, the United States expanded its technical assistance program for Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. By 1958, following $1,000 million spent for relief and reconstruction from the U.S., South Korea surpassed [illegible] production and consumption levels. Equally effective

ive assistance given the Philippine Republic to help rebuild er the ravages of war and to support its successful fight against guerrillas. Altogether, between 1950 and 1960, the U.S. provided more than 60 nations with machinery, medicines, loans, and technicians.

EFFORTS TOWARD PEACEFUL COOPERATION

In 1955, the U.S. Government consolidated its various foreign-aid programs, including what remained of the Marshall Plan for Europe, into a permanent International Cooperation Administration. Two years later, the U.S. created the Development Loan Fund to help provide developing areas with the capital needed to finance transportation, power, industry, river-valley development, irrigation, and other foundations for economic growth. By the end of 1960, the Fund had made some 183 loans to 49 countries totalling nearly $2,000 million. In addition, between 1954 and 1960, the U.S. distributed food worth more than $10,000 million to needy countries. About half this food was an outright gift to avert famine in such countries as Pakistan, Nepal, Jordan, Haiti, and Ghana. The other half was sold for foreign currencies, which could then be lent back to the recipient countries at low or no interest for their economic development projects.

Hopes for peaceful cooperation between the Communist and non-Communist powers were raised by the 1955 Geneva "summit conference," but the American, Soviet, British, and French heads of state failed to agree on methods of achieving either disarmament or the reunification of Germany. To minimize the dangers of surprise attack and to halt arms development, President Eisenhower proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States exchange blueprints of their military establishments and permit mutual aerial observation of military installations. The Soviet leaders rejected this plan as an invasion of national sovereignty. Nevertheless, the Geneva meeting did produce agreements providing that Soviet technicians, intellectuals, and performing artists would tour the U.S. while their American counterparts visited the Soviet Union.

CRISES OVER HUNGARY AND SUEZ

In 1956, there was a series of explosive international developments. Early that year Soviet party leader Nikita Khrushchev

suddenly denounced the dead dictator Josef Stalin as a cruel tyrant, a denunciation that led people in the Soviet-dominated countries of eastern Europe to demand greater freedom in managing their own internal affairs.

In Poland, Wladyslaw Gomulka, a nationalist Communist leader who had been jailed under Stalin, became head of the Polish Communist Party and promised the people greater freedom of speech, press, and religion. In October 1956, the Hungarian people revolted, installed a liberal government, and demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops. But, instead of withdrawing, the Soviet army launched a massive attack on the Hungarians, an action which the U.N. General Assembly overwhelmingly condemned. The American people joined the worldwide protest against the Soviet Union's crushing of the revolt and welcomed thousands of Hungarian refugees to the United States.

Simultaneously with the Hungarian uprising, a serious world crisis developed over control of the Suez Canal. Since its completion on Egyptian territory in 1869, the Canal had been operated by an international company, mainly British and French in composition. In July 1956, when Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser announced the nationalization of the Canal, the western powers tried in vain to reach an agreement with Egypt on a new form of international control by the 18 nations that regularly used the Canal. Then in October, against a background of increasing border clashes, Israel accused Egypt of planning an attack against her and sent the Israeli army across the Sinai Peninsula toward Suez.

Viewing this development as a threat to shipping on the Canal, the British and French landed troops in the Canal zone. The United States opposed this action of its NATO allies as a violation of the principle of self-determination. The American delegation at the United Nations voted in favor of a General Assembly resolution calling for an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of the invading troops. Great Britain, France, and Israel accepted these terms. In March 1957, under the supervision of a U.N. police force, the Suez Canal was cleared of wreckage and opened to shipping.

The Suez crisis, which prompted the Soviet Union to threaten to use force in Egypt, revealed growing Soviet efforts to gain a foothold in the Middle East. To meet this threat and to encourage stability and independence in the area, the United States

adopted what came to be known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. In January 1957 President Eisenhower asked Congress, first, for authorization to use military force if requested by any Middle Eastern nation to check aggression; and, second, to set aside a sum of $200 million to help those Middle Eastern countries that desired aid from the United States. Congress granted both requests.

A year and a half later, President Eisenhower sent marines to Lebanon at the latter's request. The action came after Lebanon accused the United Arab Republic (a union of Syria and Egypt) of provoking and arming a rebellion in Lebanon. After several weeks, the situation in Lebanon improved, and the United States withdrew its troops. A similar crisis arose between Jordan and Iraq but calmed rapidly after British troops arrived in Jordan at that country's request. These troops, too, were soon withdrawn.

NEW CRISES IN FORMOSA AND BERLIN

In the summer of 1958, while the Middle East was still seething with unrest, a new crisis developed in the Far East. The People's Republic of China began a bombardment of the Nationalist Chinese islands of Quemoy and Matsu, apparently in preparation for an invasion of those islands as a first step toward an attack on Taiwan. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles declared that the U.S. would take "timely and effective" action to defend Taiwan. Despite Soviet support of the People's Republic of China's claims to the islands, the bombardment abated, then virtually ceased after President Eisenhower warned that the United States would not retreat "in the face of armed aggression." The Chinese, however, continued to declare their ultimate intention to "liberate" Taiwan and the offshore islands.

Hardly had the Far East crisis passed than, in November of 1958, Soviet Premier Khrushchev issued an ultimatum giving the western powers six months to agree to withdraw from Berlin and make it a free, demilitarized city. At the end of that period, Khrushchev declared, the Soviet Union would turn over to East Germany complete control of all lines of communication with West Berlin; the western powers then would have access to West Berlin only by permission of the East German government. The United States, Great Britain, and France replied to this ultimatum by firmly asserting their determination to remain in West Berlin and to maintain their legal right of free access to that city.

In 1959 the Soviet Union withdrew its deadline and instead met with the western powers in a Big Four foreign ministers' conference. Although the three-month-long sessions failed to reach any important agreements, they did open the door to further negotiations and led to Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United States in September of 1959. At the end of this visit, Khrushchev and President Eisenhower stated jointly that the most important issue in the world was general disarmament and that the problem of Berlin and "all outstanding international questions should be settled, not by the application of force, but by peaceful means through negotiation."

CASTRO'S TAKEOVER IN CUBA

Meanwhile, a political drama was unfolding on the island of Cuba, 150 kilometers off the United States' southeastern shoreline. Early in 1959, after fighting for several years, Fidel Castro overthrew the government of Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista. Mindful of Batista's record of repression, the U.S. Government and the American public in general welcomed Castro's rise to power, although the United States had given the Batista government military aid.

American sympathy rapidly evaporated, however, when Premier Castro, acting and sounding like a Communist dictator, failed to hold the free elections he had promised, placed the press under strict censorship, and, in hasty trials, sentenced to death hundreds of his political enemies. Once again Cuba's jails were filled with political critics, including many of Castro's former comrades, anti-Communist labor leaders, and other veteran opponents of the Batista regime. Foreign-owned property was expropriated arbitrarily without fair compensation, and in many cases without any compensation at all.

As his internal dictatorship hardened, Castro began increasingly to denounce the United States and to seek support from the Communist-bloc nations. The Eisenhower Administration at first adopted a policy of patient forbearance but during the summer of 1960 American policy stiffened. The United States placed a temporary embargo on the purchase of Cuban sugar and urged the 21-nation OAS to condemn Cuba's actions. The OAS, while it did not directly indict the Castro regime on this occasion, did condemn Soviet interference in the western hemisphere because

of its support of Castro.

Another international gathering, held later in 1960, seemed to sum up both the hopeful and the disturbing aspects of the world scene. Meeting in New York, the U.N. General Assembly admitted 17 new nations, all but one from the African continent —a reflection of the rapid postwar movement of formerly colonial peoples to full independence and nationhood. Speaking to the U.N. delegates, President Eisenhower asked other nations to join the United States in providing increased aid to developing areas generally and to the new African nations in particular. He also pledged that the United States would continue to seek world disarmament based on effective inspection and control.

Prior to the General Assembly session, world concern over the mounting arms race had been heightened by man's conquest of space, a development that in more tranquil times would have been a source only of admiration and pride. The launching of the first Soviet space satellite in October 1957 and the first American satellite in January 1958 demonstrated that both countries now had rockets powerful enough to hurl atomic and hydrogen bombs into the heart of any enemy country thousands of kilometers away.

SOVIET UNION REJECTS ARMS INSPECTION

By the late 1950s technology made possible a push-button war that could destroy tens of millions of lives within minutes. The need for a foolproof arms inspection system to prevent the outbreak of such a war, accidentally or otherwise, seemed obvious to most of the world. Premier Khrushchev, however, told the U.N. General Assembly in belligerent tones that the Soviet Union could not accept inspection and control in the initial stages of a disarmament agreement. Disarmament without inspection, the democratic nations believed, was unacceptable on the grounds that a "closed" society such as the Soviet Union could violate its disarmament pledges with little chance of detection, whereas violations within more "open" societies would have a high chance of being discovered and publicized.

Against this background of world tension, the American people, in November 1960, elected Senator John F. Kennedy to the Presidency. Kennedy defeated by a narrow margin his Republican opponent, Vice President Richard Nixon. The two youthful presidential candidates highlighted their campaigns by

appearing on television in a series of debates—Nixon emphasizing the experience he had gained during his eight years in the Eisenhower Administration and reminding voters of the "peace and prosperity" achieved under Republican leadership, and Kennedy calling for new, forward-looking leadership and more effective use of the country's human and economic resources.

In his Inaugural Address, Kennedy, the youngest President ever elected in the United States, set the tone of youthful energy and dedication that was to mark his administration. "The torch has been passed," he said, "to a new generation of Americans." Indeed, his Cabinet and his White House advisers made up the youngest group of top-level officials in the country's history—a group notable for its openness to new ideas and its readiness to take vigorous action.

When President Kennedy took office, the country was generally prosperous, with the average industrial worker's wage at the all-time high of $95 a week. But unemployment was also high, especially in the coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, which had been seriously affected by the competition of new products and by changes in American living patterns.

The new administration sought legislative remedies for these conditions. An Area Development Act gave the federal government power to help depressed communities start new industries and build needed public facilities. Another law provided retraining, with pay, for workers either unemployed or in low-paying jobs through lack of needed skills. In addition, states were given emergency authority to extend unemployment-insurance payments for 13 weeks beyond the standard 26-week period.

Following the examples of his two predecessors, President Kennedy requested Congress to liberalize some of the existing social legislation. As a result, the Social Security Act provided workers the option to retire at age 62 instead of 65; the minimum wage was increased to $1.25 an hour; and the federal housing program was stepped up to help elderly persons and families with low or moderate incomes find homes at a reasonable cost.

AMERICAN BLACKS MOVE AHEAD

During the 1960s the country made significant advances toward eliminating racial discrimination. Between 1954 and 1960, 765 out of the 6,676 school districts in the South had been de-

segregated. Between 1961 and 1964, some 365 additional school districts admitted black students to formerly all-white schools, increasing by almost 50 per cent the number desegregated during the previous seven years. Peaceful "sit-ins" by black and white college students, starting in February 1960, sped the end of segregation in restaurants and at lunch counters in more than 500 southern communities.

In 1961 came the "freedom rides"—orderly, nonviolent protests against segregation in bus transportation and terminal facilities. In November 1961 the Interstate Commerce Commission banned segregation in all interstate travel. The following year the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously endorsed this ban, stating: "We have settled beyond question that no state shall require racial segregation of interstate and intrastate transportation facilities."

What came to be called "the civil rights revolution" reached a dramatic climax in 1963. After massive black demonstrations in the segregated deep-south city of Birmingham, Alabama, President Kennedy told the nation in a televised speech that it had a moral obligation to secure full equality for black Americans. He then proposed to Congress the most sweeping legislation in this century to eliminate discrimination in voting, education, employment, and public accommodations. On August 28, more than 200,000 blacks and whites, led by the black southern minister Martin Luther King, Jr., marched to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington in an impressive demonstration that drew heightened national attention to the demand for equal rights. In 1964, Reverend King received the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of his decade-long leadership in Christian, non-violent protest against discrimination.

The Kennedy Administration further advanced racial equality by appointing many eminent blacks to high government posts. Some of the more notable appointments were Robert C. Weaver as head of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, and Thurgood Marshall, formerly chief counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as a federal judge. Dozens of other black Americans gained appointment to positions ranging from presidential assistant to ambassador. With more than 240,000 black students attending institutions of higher learning in 1964, there was reason to believe that the trend toward better jobs and more influential roles in government for blacks would be hastened.

SOUTH OF THE U.S. BORDER

Less than three weeks before President Kennedy took office, the United States had broken diplomatic relations with Cuba. This action was taken in response to the Castro government's continued vilification of the United States, its harassment of U.S. embassy personnel, and its use of Cuba as a base to encourage guerrilla activities in Latin America. (Later in the year, in a notable speech, Castro admitted that he had secretly been a Communist for many years.)

As the Castro dictatorship tightened, thousands of Cubans left their homeland, many of them coming to the United States. In April 1961 a group of Cuban refugees invaded their country in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Castro. Although Americans provided the refugees with training and assistance, no U.S. soldier participated in the invasion.

In October 1962, the world was shocked to learn that the Castro government had allowed the Soviet Union secretly to place offensive missile bases on Cuban soil. These bases, manned by Soviet technicians, were capable of launching nuclear missiles against most of the major cities of North and South America. The United States demanded prompt removal of the bases and declared a strict quarantine of all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba. By a vote of 20 to 0, the Organization of American States recommended that member nations take all necessary measures to block the flow of offensive weapons to Cuba. Finally the Soviet government agreed to dismantle its bases and ship them back to the Soviet Union under U.N. supervision.

Economic relations between the Americas continued to improve. In March 1961 President Kennedy formally proposed an "Alliance for Progress," under which the United States, along with other countries, various international agencies, and private sources would provide $20,000 million in grants and loans over a 10-year period to promote economic growth and raise living standards in the Latin American republics.

In August, 19 Latin American nations approved the Alliance charter and pledged land and tax reforms to benefit their people. Alliance funds went into the building of roads, homes, and schools, the improvement of sanitation and water-supply systems, the advance of credits to small farmers, and the training of teachers. At the end of 1961, President Kennedy

saw the program in operation when he visited Venezuela and Colombia, two of the countries that had started redistributing land among small farmers.

NEW NATIONS EMERGE IN AFRICA

Across the Atlantic from South America, the peoples of Africa were joining the world family of nations. Starting with Sudan, Morocco, and Tunisia in 1956 and Ghana in 1957, 30 African nations had won their independence by the end of 1963. U.S. leaders welcomed these new nations, whose emergence from colonial status recalled America's own past. The U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations under President Kennedy, Adlai E. Stevenson, predicted an increasingly important role for the new African states in that world forum.

One of Stevenson's first acts was to cast the U.S. vote in support of an African-sponsored proposal calling for a U.N. investigation of racial disorders in the Portuguese colony of Angola in Africa. Both publicly and privately, the United States urged Portugal to accept self-determination for its African territories. Ambassador Stevenson also called for an end to the apartheid policy of the Republic of South Africa and supported a U.N. resolution asking member nations not to sell or ship arms to that country.

Eruption of civil strife in the Republic of the Congo, after it had won its independence from Belgium in 1960, introduced the U.N. to the complex and challenging problems of the New Africa. At the request of President Joseph Kasavubu, a U.N. force went to the Congo, first to restore order and protect lives, and later, in 1961, to help reunite the mineral-rich Katanga province with the rest of the country.

Although some Americans criticized the U.N. military action in Katanga as an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Congo, the U.S. Government supported the U.N. goal of a united Congo as the only workable answer to the country's economic and political problems. To this end, the United States contributed $170 million in funds, food, and services toward the U.N. effort. By 1963, a united Republic of the Congo had emerged with improved prospects for peaceful development.

U.S. Government assistance, totalling more than $1,500 million by 1964, went to a majority of new African nations as

loans and grants and as large shipments of food. The loans were intended principally for development of electric power, health, communications, and sanitation, while the outright grants went mainly for education and agriculture. In Algeria, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Tunisia, American food was used as partial wages in food-for-work programs to combat unemployment while providing needed public works. Hundreds of American doctors, nurses, teachers, and technicians journeyed to Africa to contribute their services.

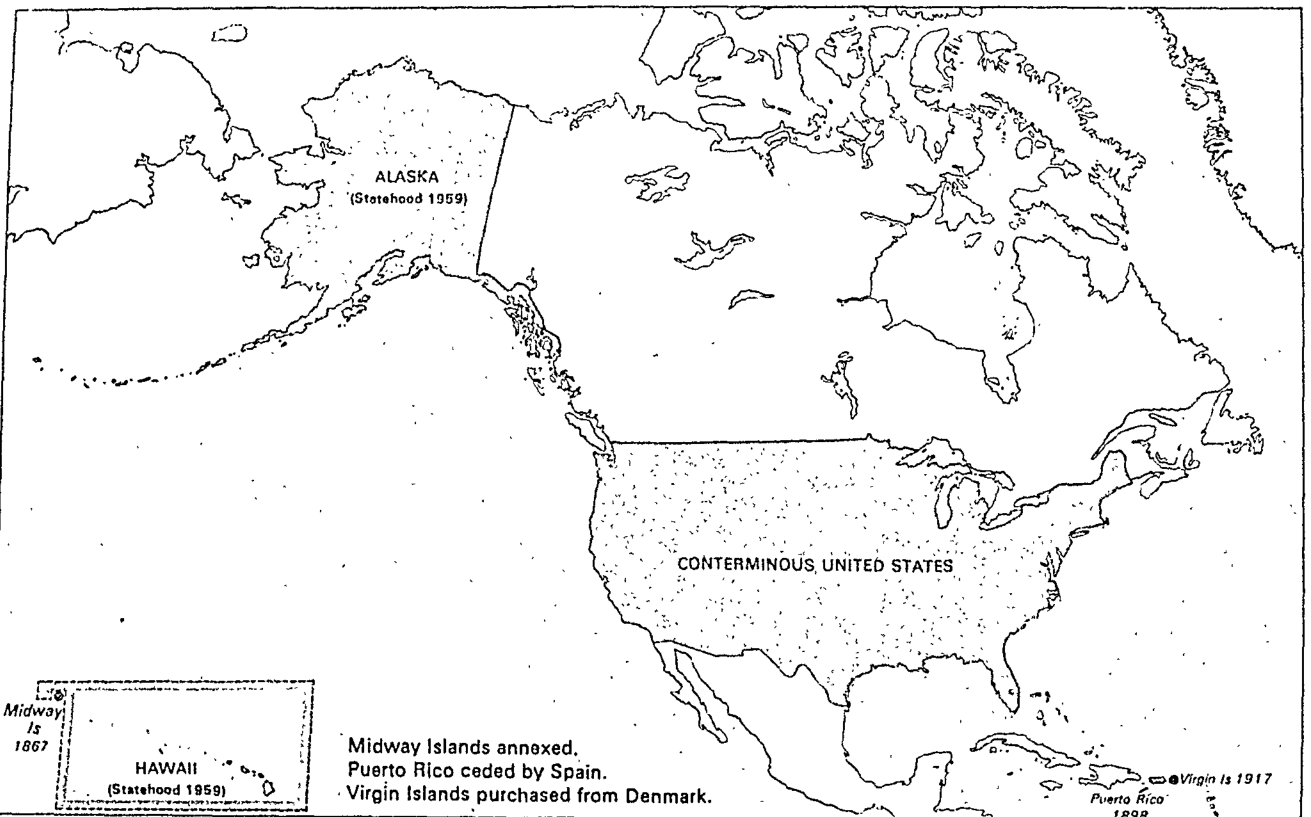
COMMUNIST PRESSURES CONTINUE

In Southeast Asia, intensified internal guerrilla attacks threatened Laos and South Vietnam. Fourteen nations, including the United States, met in Geneva in May 1961 to seek a solution to the Laotian conflict. After 13 months of negotiation, during which a ceasefire was put into effect, they agreed to urge the Laotian princes leading the contending factions to join in creating a neutral, unified, and independent nation.

In South Vietnam, however, fighting continued as native southerners joined with infiltrating northerners in a campaign of kidnappings, assassinations, and other incidents of terrorism against citizens loyal to the American-supported South Vietnamese government. At the request of the Saigon government, President Kennedy sent American military personnel to help train South Vietnamese troops. The United States also encouraged South Vietnam's leaders to initiate social, political, and educational reforms in order to secure broader popular support to resist the Vietnamese who supported the Communist leader, Ho Chi Minh.

Meanwhile, in June 1961, Premier Khrushchev created a new crisis over the status of West Berlin when he again threatened to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany, which he said, would end existing four-power agreements guaranteeing American, British, and French access rights to West Berlin. The three powers replied that no unilateral treaty could abrogate their responsibilities and rights in West Berlin, including the right of unobstructed access to the city.

East Germans, stirred by the crisis, fled to West Berlin in increasing numbers. In July alone there were some 30,000. Suddenly, on August 13, the Soviets erected a wall between the



Source: U.S. Geological Survey

east and west sectors of Berlin, forcibly sealing off the inhabitants of East Germany. In the face of Allied determination to maintain the right of access to West Berlin, the Soviet government allowed the year-end deadline to pass without attempting to sign a peace treaty with East Germany.

EFFORTS TOWARD WORLD PEACE

In March 1961 President Kennedy initiated the project known as the Peace Corps—a revolutionary idea in foreign assistance. The program enlisted volunteers for service in developing countries all over the globe. Young Americans in particular found the program attractive and put their talents to work as nurses, surveyors, teachers, mechanics, health and sanitation specialists, and farm aides. The Peace Corps, besides promoting grass-roots development abroad, sought to build international understanding, good will, and peace.

The Kennedy years saw also the signing of the limited nuclear test-ban treaty. In August 1961, the very month the Berlin wall went up, the Soviet Union announced that it would resume testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, thus ending the voluntary moratorium on atmospheric testing initiated three years earlier by the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States. On September 1 the Soviet Union began a series of nuclear explosions in the atmosphere. These produced large amounts of radioactive fallout and aroused worldwide fears of genetic damage to future generations.

Despite the breaking of the moratorium, President Kennedy continued to urge the Soviet Union to sign an agreement providing for international inspection that would assure a ban on all future tests. When this offer was rejected, the United States reluctantly announced that it had no alternative but to resume its own testing in the atmosphere to maintain an effective deterrent capacity. At the same time, the U.S. Government continued to work for an end to the arms race by creating a special Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and by maintaining its endeavor to obtain a test-ban treaty.

These efforts finally bore fruit in July 1963 when the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States initialed a treaty outlawing nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, under the sea, and in outer space. By the end of the year, 107 nations had sub-

scribed to the treaty. The question of underground testing was left to the future, since the Soviet Union continued to reject the kind of on-site inspection that could accurately detect such tests.

Some observers believed that the Soviet government's willingness to accept even a partial test-ban was traceable to the missile crisis in Cuba, which had brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. As a further precaution against the possibility of the outbreak of a nuclear war through accident or misunderstanding, a direct teletype connection—popularly referred to as "the hot line"—was established between the White House in Washington and the Kremlin in Moscow.

These safeguards against accidental war and the contamination of the atmosphere reflected a fresh approach to Soviet-American relations. In a notable speech at Washington's American University in June 1963, President Kennedy proposed a thaw in the cold war.

"We must conduct our affairs in such a way," he said, "that it becomes in the Communists' interest to agree on a genuine peace. Above all, while defending our own vital interests, nuclear powers must avert those confrontations which bring an adversary to a choice of either a humiliating retreat or a nuclear war. . . . To secure these ends, America's weapons are nonprovocative, carefully controlled, designed to deter, and capable of selective use. Our military forces are committed to peace and disciplined in self-restraint. . . . The United States, as the world knows, will never start a war." America was directing its energies, the President concluded, "not toward a strategy of annihilation but toward a strategy of peace."

THE JOHNSON YEARS

President Kennedy's vigorous personal role in the search for peace abroad and social progress at home came to an abrupt and tragic end on November 22, 1963, when he was shot down by an assassin in Dallas, Texas. While the world mourned his death, the Presidency passed to Lyndon B. Johnson, who had been Kennedy's personal choice for Vice President.

In his first address to the Congress, the new President urged speedy passage of two major domestic programs that President Kennedy had helped to formulate. A civil rights bill, as approved initially by the House of Representatives, provided the strongest

federal protection to date against racial discrimination. A tax reduction bill, which became law early in 1964, called for sharp cuts in personal and corporate income tax rates. Its purpose was to stimulate the economy and reduce unemployment by giving consumers more cash to spend and businesses more money for investment and expansion.

President Johnson won additional support for the tax measure by announcing substantial cutbacks in military spending and stricter economy in running the government. A considerable part of these savings was to be used in a massive attack on poverty. Nearly one-fifth of all American families, the President reported, had incomes under $3,000 a year, far below the level of well-being enjoyed by most Americans. Johnson proposed to coordinate government agencies concerned with the problem and, by a combination of intensified education, job training, new industries, and improved welfare measures, to bring the living standards of the underprivileged to acceptable levels.

As for foreign affairs, President Johnson, addressing Congress early in his administration, said: "This nation will keep its commitments from South Vietnam to West Berlin. We will be unceasing in the search for peace; resourceful in our pursuit of areas of agreement even with those with whom we differ; and generous and loyal to those who join us in common cause." His policy met with a favorable response from the American public. In the November 1964 election, the people gave him the highest percentage of votes ever cast for a presidential candidate, sweeping him into office by a margin of more than 15 million votes. The following March he spelled out his personal aims:

"I do not want to be the President who built empires, or sought grandeur, or extended dominion. I want to be the President who educated young children to the wonders of the world. I want to be the President who helped to feed the hungry and to prepare them to be taxpayers instead of tax-eaters. I want to be the President who helped the poor to find their own way and who protected the right of every citizen to vote in every election. I want to be the President who helped to end hatred among his fellowmen and who prompted love among the people of all races and all religions and all parties. I want to be the President who helped to end war among the brothers of this earth."

The Johnson Administration, however, became increasingly concerned with military action. The American forces in South

Vietnam were steadily increased. Then, in April 1965 more than 20,000 troops were sent to the Dominican Republic to restore order between contending factions of Dominicans in the early stages of a civil war. At U.S. request, the OAS established an Inter-American Peace Force, which joined the American forces and converted the unilateral intervention into a multilateral operation. Following the easing of tension and an election in June 1966, the troops were withdrawn.

Vietnam was a different story. Before his Administration ended, President Johnson had committed more than half a million men to the conflict in Southeast Asia. Not until May 1968, when the United States and North Vietnam finally agreed to hold preliminary peace talks in Paris, was there any evidence that the war might end by negotiation.

The cost of the war, coupled with record spending on domestic programs, and a substantial rise in average family income, exerted strong inflationary pressures on the nation's economy, the most severe since the immediate post-World War II years. In 1968, the dollar was buying 10 cents less in goods than the 1964 dollar, and annual inflation had reached 2.5 per cent. Unemployment figures continued to drop, but the number receiving welfare assistance, particularly in the large cities, steadily climbed.

For most of the nation the Johnson years were a time of prosperity, although there was serious concern about the worsening balance of payments deficit and the resulting decline in U.S. gold reserves. The deficit, however, was due in part to growing American investments abroad, growing expenditures by Americans overseas, more buying of foreign goods, and higher incomes at home. Offsetting the nation's economic problems was the great economic growth achieved from 1961 to 1969—the greatest, in fact, in American history.

These years also saw a wealth of social legislation. Congress passed more civil rights bills than in any comparable period in American history. Once again Congress raised social security benefits. In 1965 the country established a milestone in social legislation when Johnson signed into law the Medicare program, a non-profit health insurance system for the aged. In response to civil inequalities, Congress enacted legislation to insure the voting rights of black Americans, who, in some southern states, had been required to take discriminatory literacy tests. Congress and the states, meanwhile, ratified the Twenty-fourth Amendment to

the Constitution which forbade any state to maintain a poll tax as a requirement for voting in a national election.

In 1965, a year after enactment of these suffrage measures, the first of a series of riots that were to sear numerous American cities during the next several years exploded in Watts, a predominantly black section of Los Angeles in California. In six days 35 persons were killed and hundreds of buildings destroyed. Angered by what they considered slow and uneven progress after decades of social neglect and discrimination, and spurred by militants, blacks resorted to violence in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Newark, and scores of other communities. In April 1968, a downtown section of the nation's capital was racked by burning, rioting, and looting in an emotion-charged response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the nation's foremost black leader, who had been murdered by a sniper's bullet while standing on the balcony of a motel in Memphis, Tennessee.

Two months after King's death, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, brother of the late President, also died from an assassin's bullet after being struck down in a Los Angeles hotel while campaigning for nomination as President.

Unrest and violence were symptomatic of deep changes taking place in America. An ever-increasing number of Americans became dissatisfied with the impersonal aspects of mass society and large government, the war in Vietnam, and continuing aspects of discrimination against persons because of their sex, ethnic background, race, or life styles. The 1960s, therefore, witnessed many changes in attitudes, personal relationships, values, and even dress and manners.

Dramatic technological changes also were evident. The December 1968 flight of Apollo 8 carried astronauts Frank Borman, James Lovell, and William Anders into lunar orbit. First to venture beyond the earth's gravitational pull, they journeyed farther (more than 368,000 kilometers) from the earth and faster (at speeds approaching 40,000 kilometers per hour) than any other persons in history. After spending Christmas flying around the moon, the Apollo crew returned to earth on December 27 and executed a pinpoint landing in the Pacific recovery zone. This event together with the release by North Korea of the crew of the American ship *Pueblo*—which North Korea had seized off its coast in January 1968—brightened [illegible] son's last weeks in office.

THE NIXON PRESIDENCY

On January 20, 1969, Richard Nixon took the oath of office as 37th President of the United States. In a three-man race that included former Governor of Alabama George C. Wallace, Republican candidate Nixon narrowly defeated the Democratic nominee, Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President in the Johnson Administration.

Nixon was no stranger to the White House, having served two terms as Vice President during the Eisenhower years. In 1960, battling John F. Kennedy for the Presidency, he had lost by only 118,000 votes out of 69 million cast. Two years later, after he lost his campaign to become governor of California, most political observers concluded that his political career was over. Nixon moved to New York City to practice law, and there, without a political base, he rallied his forces to achieve the political comeback of the century.

As President, Nixon gave priority to foreign affairs and significantly redirected United States policies. In July 1969 he outlined the broad principle that would guide his Administration; he defined the "Nixon Doctrine" with these words:

"Its central thesis is that the United States will participate in the defense and development of allies and friends, but that America cannot—and will not—conceive *all* the plans, design *all* the programs, execute *all* the decisions and undertake *all* the defense of the free nations of the world. We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest."

Elected on the promise of ending the Vietnam War, Nixon slowly but steadily withdrew American troops while he continued strong military campaigns and pursued a negotiated peace settlement. The latter came in January 1973; two months later the last American soldier left Vietnam. Fighting between Vietnamese, however, continued. American participation in the war had cost the country more than 57,000 servicemen killed, more than 300,000 wounded, and more than $135,000 million.

During his first term, Nixon worked hard to improve relations with the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Reversing U.S. policy of a quarter of a century, he approved economic trade, cultural exchanges, and political communications with China, highlighted in 1972 by a personal visit to the world's most populous country. Nixon likewise promoted greater

trade and lessening of political tension in U.S. relations with the Soviet Union, dramatized by a personal visit to Moscow. In 1972 this policy helped produce an agreement between the two countries to limit the number of their antiballistic missile sites and strategic offensive missiles.

The Nixon domestic record was one of paradox. He increased benefits under the Social Security Act, continued federal subsidized housing for low- and middle-income families, and increased federal support of education. Innovatingly, he reversed the trend toward centralization by distributing, through a revenue-sharing program, a portion of federal monies to state and local governments. On the other hand, he vetoed bills to cleanse polluted waterways, to construct public works, and to establish child-care centers for preschool children of mothers who needed to work. He also put less stress on federal government activities on behalf of black Americans.

Continued deficit spending to finance the war in Vietnam and other federal programs eroded the stability of the dollar in the world. This and other world developments brought about the breakdown of the post-1944 system of international exchange based upon American financial leadership. To combat inflation at home, President Nixon experimented with wage and price controls, but the economy continued to exhibit a high inflation rate.

Perhaps the most spectacular event of President Nixon's first term of office was the landing on the moon, on July 21, 1969, of astronauts Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin, while astronaut Michael Collins orbited the moon in the mother ship of the Apollo 11 mission. After landing their lunar craft, Armstrong and Aldrin remained for several hours gathering rocks and other specimens to take back to earth for study. They also staked an American flag and a plaque reading "We came in peace for all mankind."

With definite achievements in foreign policy overshadowing his mixed performance at home, President Nixon faced the election of 1972 as a heavy favorite to defeat the Democratic candidate George McGovern, Senator from South Dakota. On election day, when 18 year olds could vote for the first time, Nixon carried 49 states and won 60.6 per cent of the total vote, one of the highest percentages in American history. Ironically, the country again elected a Democratic Congress, as it had in 1968 and 1970.

An event which occurred during the 1972 campaign—the

attempted burglary of the Democratic Party's National Headquarters in the Watergate apartments in downtown Washington, directed by members of President Nixon's campaign committee —triggered what was to become a major domestic crisis. During 1973 and 1974, charges of illegal activities by the Nixon Administration mounted from the press, politicians and former Nixon aides. Subsequent investigations by Congress, a federal grand jury and a special independent federal prosecutor, and the resultant trials, disclosed that top Nixon Administration figures had violated due process of law in an attempt to sabotage the Democratic Party campaign in 1972. Charges included soliciting of illegal contributions, withholding of criminal evidence, violation of individual civil liberties, illegal use of federal agencies, and perjury before grand juries, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Congressional committees.

At first only circumstantial evidence implicated President Nixon, but when the Supreme Court ordered him to make available the tapes of conversations recorded in the Presidential office, it became evident that the President had early knowledge, previously denied, of an attempt to deny proper legal authorities information relating to the Watergate burglary. On August 9, 1974, facing certain impeachment and probable eviction by Congress, Nixon became the first President in American history to resign from office.

President Nixon's resignation came only ten months after the resignation of Vice President Spiro Agnew. In an investigation unrelated to the charges against Nixon and his aides, a federal attorney uncovered evidence that Agnew had taken bribes while holding public office. Agnew decided to resign and to plead no contest to a lesser charge of filing fraudulent federal tax returns, rather than challenging the government's bribery case in court.

To fill the vacant office of Vice President, as mandated by the twenty-fifth amendment to the Constitution, President Nixon nominated Gerald R. Ford of Grand Rapids, Michigan. The minority leader of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives, Ford was a veteran Congressman with twenty-five years of service and solid standing among his colleagues—Republicans and Democrats alike. After exhaustive hearings both Houses of Congress voted their overwhelming approval of Gerald R. Ford as the new Vice President.

A NEW PRESIDENT TAKES OVER

When Gerald Ford became President upon Richard Nixon's resignation, he pledged to be "the President of all the people." To fill the vacant vice presidency, Ford named Nelson A. Rockefeller, himself a two-time contender for nomination as presidential candidate and a prominent former governor of New York State; Congress registered its approval of Rockefeller by convincing votes in both Houses.

In world affairs, the new President pledged continuation of the widely endorsed policies of his predecessor. Ford reaffirmed United States commitment to the nation's traditional allies and announced plans to visit the People's Republic of China as well as the Soviet Union. In November 1974, he flew to Vladivostok and conferred with Leonid Brezhnev. The two leaders reached tentative agreement to place a ten-year ceiling on their arsenals of nuclear weapons, with the purpose of limiting both countries to their current arms development programs.

While carrying out the nation's responsibilities in the world community, and acting to restore the people's confidence in their government, President Ford gave priority attention to the serious economic problems confronting the country.

On January 15, 1975, in his first State of the Union address, he forthrightly told the American people: "the State of the Union is not good," and charted a new course for the United States. Ford asked the Congress to join with him in establishing a broad-ranging economic program which would generate more economic activity and reduce unemployment, continue the Administration's efforts against inflation, and help reduce American dependence on foreign sources of energy.

Promising "a new direction" for the United States, President Ford stressed the economic interdependence of nations. "The economic distress is global," he declared. "We will not solve it at home unless we help to remedy the profound economic dislocation abroad. World trade and monetary structure provide markets, energy, food, and vital raw materials—for all nations.... At the end of World War II, we turned a similar challenge into an historic opportunity and, I might add, an historic achievement. An old order was in disarray; political and economic institutions were shattered. In that period, this nation and its partners built new institutions, new mechanisms

support and cooperation. Today, as then, we face an historic opportunity. If we act imaginatively and boldly, as we acted then, this period will in retrospect be seen as one of the great creative moments of our nation's history...Let us make America once again and for centuries more to come what it has so long been —a stronghold and a beacon-light of liberty."

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